

THE
NATIONAL
QUARTERLY REVIEW.

FOUNDED BY EDWARD I. SEARS, LL.D.

EDITED BY

DAVID A. GORTON, M. D.

Pulchrum est bene facere reipublicæ, etiam bene dicere haud absurdum est.

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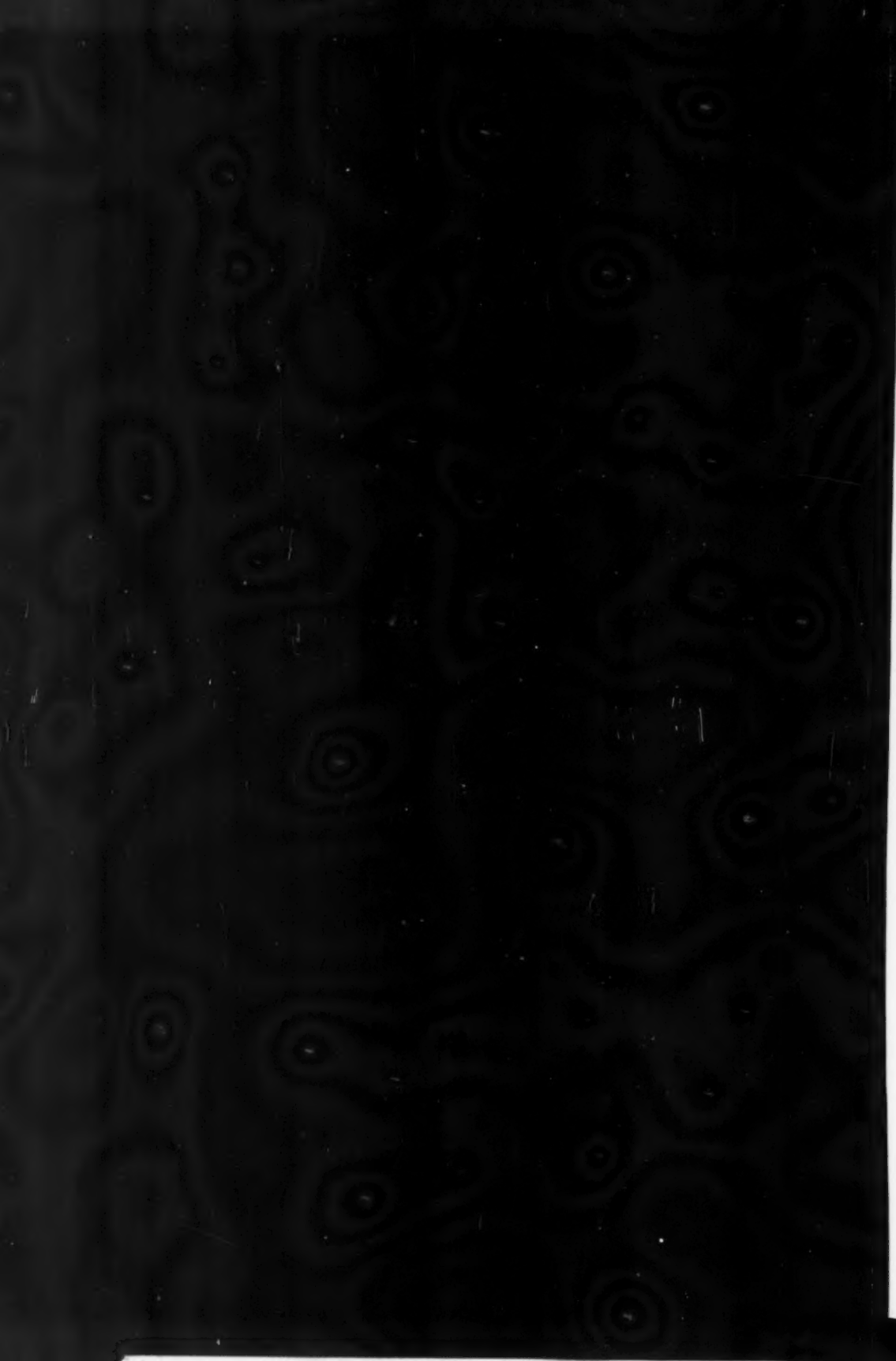
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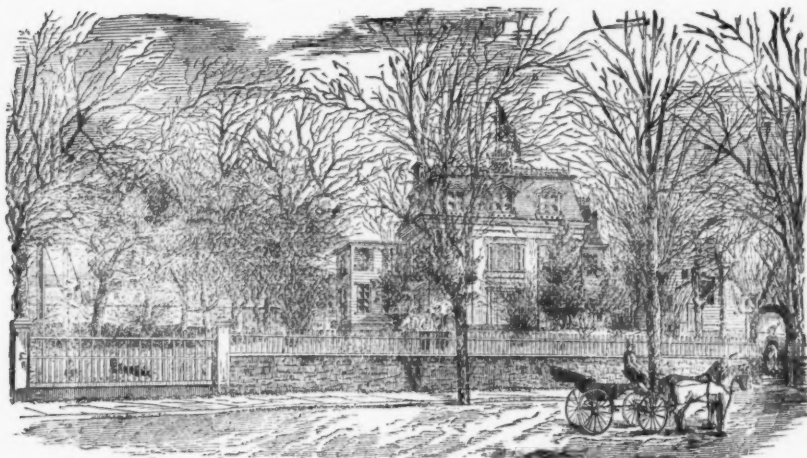
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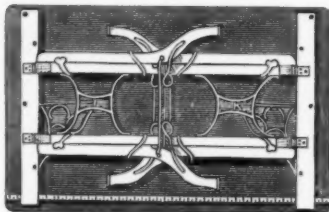
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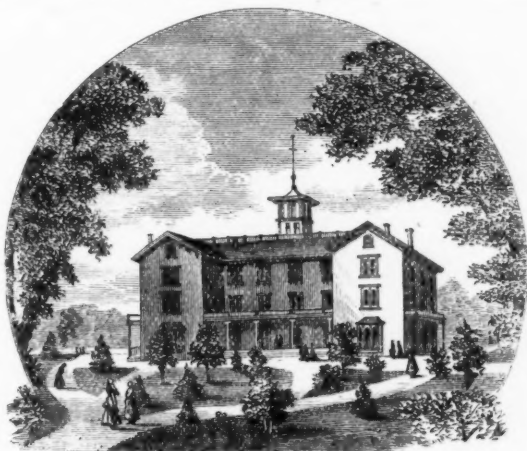
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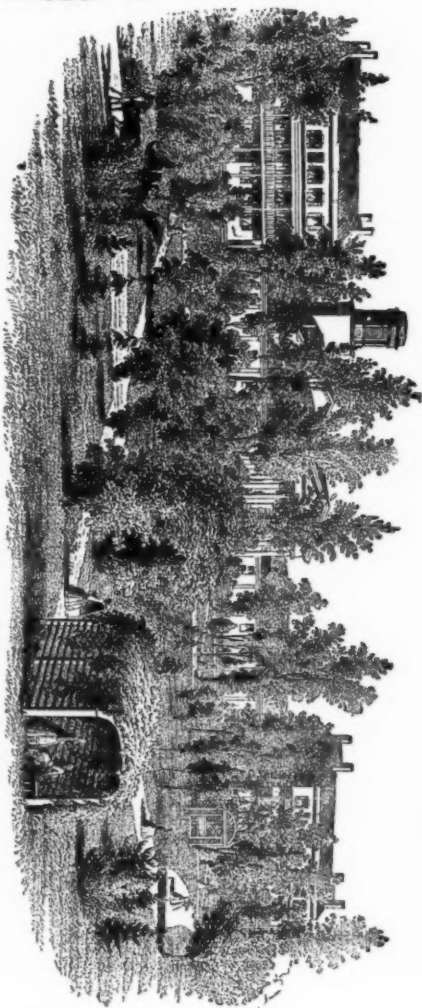
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THE
NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW.

No. LXVIII.

MARCH, 1877.

ART. I.—1. *Essays Literary, Biographical and Critical.*
NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW. Edited by EDWARD
I. SEARS, LL.D. New York. 33 vols. June, 1860,
to September, 1876.

*"Vita enim mortuorum in memoriâ vivorum
est posita."*—CICERO.

THE duty of the living to the dead ends not with the reading of the burial service and consigning the remains to the tomb. These things, however reverently performed, are but preliminary to a still larger duty, that of keeping the memory of the dead green, and preserving the fruits of their labors, that the good they have done die not with them. It is in accordance with the divine fitness of things that the dead should live in the memory of the living.

There is no life, howsoever humble and commonplace it may have been, that does not afford valuable lessons to the living,—to those who have the ability to observe and interpret them for themselves. But the extremes of character in either direction—good or bad—are more useful to the race, of course. The lessons they teach are easier learned and longer remembered. And we have sometimes been in doubt as to which is of the most value to mankind, the biography of the very bad man or that of the very good. The life

of one may be likened to that of a bold explorer in wild and dangerous regions ;—to a mariner on an unknown and perilous sea, pointing out to others the shoals on which he himself was wrecked. On the other hand, the lives of the very good and great demonstrate the sequences of goodness and virtue. Whatever be their position, they are like the fixed stars in the heavens, mitigating the darkness and guiding the humble plodder in his devious and difficult course. If the evil men do live after them, the good they do is the source of blessings perennial and eternal.

In the present instance we have a life to deal with of a mixed character; weak in some directions, strong in others, bad in none. Those who knew Dr. Sears best do not claim for him distinguished piety. He was well disposed and helpful to his fellows; but he could denounce, even swear, on suitable occasions. Judged from a religious point of view, his character was neutral, neither good nor bad. In many respects he possessed eminent virtues; in some, striking faults; in all, remarkable ability. He escaped the imputation of hypocrisy by at once disclaiming the saintly character. While leaving religion, rightly or wrongly, to those whose business it is to cultivate it, he devoted himself with what energy he could command to the work which he rightly conceived to be his. "It is not for me," he used to say, "to judge between the sects. I am content to leave theology to the theologians." Nor did he welcome to his pages articles denunciatory of one or derogatory of the other. But we must not anticipate our subject.

Few events in Dr. Sears' early life are of general interest, and they can all be condensed in two or three paragraphs. He was born in 1820, in the County of Mayo, Ireland. His father and mother were natives of Ireland, both of respectable antecedents, and sufficiently well-to-do to give their children, consisting of a daughter and three sons, a good education. Only one of them, however, availed himself of the advantage, and he was the subject of this sketch. The other sons preferred to follow the example set by sons of the gentry and spend their time and substance in following the hounds, according to the custom of that time—a custom, unhappily, by no means

obsolete to-day among the affluent classes of the mother country.

We would not convey the impression that young Edward avoided the chase and the alluring sports of hunting and fishing. These pastimes had an evident fascination for him, a fascination which he could neither resist nor overcome. It was a family weakness bred in the blood. His vacations from school were passed and enjoyed in that way; as were also his hours of leisure in later life. Indeed, he was never without his hunting outfit and equestrian habit. The saddle was ever his resource for rest and rejuvenation after hours of mental toil, down to within a few weeks of his decease, when the disease which was slowly invading his system rendered it no longer enjoyable. The custom, however, was to him a means, not an end. He resorted to the saddle and the chase as a healthful stimulus and an adjuvant of work,—neither to kill time nor for the sake of the animal pleasure which they gave him. And in this respect he was wise beyond the average of those whose opportunities were equally favorable, few of us being able to resist the demoralizing influences of idle pleasures.

While yet in his teens the boy Sears was prepared for college, and soon after attaining his majority was graduated at Trinity College, Dublin, standing well in his class. We next hear of him in his native county editing a paper; later, writing essays for the English Quarterlies, notably the *Westminster* and *Edinburgh Reviews*; later, of having committed the usual folly of inexperienced youth, that of falling in love. The young lady was of good family, of great amiability and native refinement, Catherine Irvine, by name, whom he subsequently married. And still later we hear of his leaving Ireland to seek his fortune in the young Republic of the West—America.

In 1848, young Sears arrived in New York. He was then about twenty-eight years of age, strong, healthy and ambitious. He at once applied for, and obtained a position on the New York *Herald*, then in full tide of prosperity under the elder Bennett. Subsequently he wrote for the *Times*, enjoying the confidence and friendship of Mr. Raymond, after Mr. Greeley,

the ablest editor known in the history of American journalism. He contributed also to the columns of some of the Boston dailies at the same time, notably the *Boston Post*. Nor did this employment exhaust the energy of his facile pen. He contributed heavy essays on current topics to the American and English Quarterlies; and though generally on the unpopular side, he nevertheless discussed the subjects in hand with such force, breadth and grace, as to extort complimentary notices from the critics, and win for himself a creditable place in the biographies of eminent men. We well remember an essay he wrote, nearly twenty years ago, on the Sepoy Rebellion. Its scathing denunciation of the British government for the unparalleled brutality inflicted on the vanquished rebel soldiery by its agents still rings in our ears. That essay justly excited much attention in Europe and America, and was very generally commented upon by the foreign press. We cite a brief paragraph from *La Revue Contemporaine*, 2^e série, tome 4^e, p. 482. Paris :

"C'est un vigoureux exposé des griefs des populations indoues contre leurs oppresseurs; une véhémence revendication des droits les plus élémentaires et les plus sacrés de l'humanité cruellement et hypocritement foulés aux pieds par le vainqueur; c'est, en un mot, la justification très catégorique du soulèvement des Cypayes. * * Le reviewer américain a un grand soin de s'appuyer à chaque page sur des documents anglais. Quand il en vient à parler de la répression de la révolte et des flots de sang froidement versés par la soldatesque anglaise, tous ses sentiments d'homme civilisé se soulèvent, et il stigmatise ces excès avec une énergie que nous parviendrions difficilement à reproduire. L'ironie vient parfois se mêler à la véhémence, et les triomphants bulletins des innombrables victoires remportées par les forces britanniques ne trouvent pas de grâce devant l'inflexible critique."

If he were actuated in that essay by a sentiment of hostility toward England, we think he was excusable. One should remember that Dr. Sears was an Irishman. And what kind of an Irishman, pray, must he be who could love England?

Several years pass away during which time our young literary aspirant continued to maintain himself and his young wife, in a creditable manner, with the pen. His industry was indefatigable. His purpose single and unswerving. The style of his compositions was sometimes light and gossiping; at other

times heavy and scholarly ; never strained and grandiloquent. The subjects which he discussed ranged all the way from the philosophy of Epicurus to a plan for the construction of a suspension bridge between Brooklyn and New York.* There was immense capacity in the man for work. He had arrived at that age, which comes sooner or later to all strong natures, when he must do something worthy of his genius. And he strongly felt the incubus of the circumstances which confined the exercise of his powers to a sphere which he could not but regard beneath him. Strong, active natures are familiar with the mental sufferings of Dr. Sears at this critical period of his life. Dickens was evidently no stranger to it in his early career ; neither was Thackeray, nor Franklin, Dean Swift, Columbus, nor Galileo. A man need not be a genius to comprehend the situation. And if any individual in the world is an object of commiseration, it is he, or she, who, conscious of great abilities, is compelled to repress them and remain in obscure idleness for the want of an opportunity to give them exercise. An individual thus circumstanced may be likened to a steam-engine off the track, or a steamer aground. We imagine it has been the melancholy cause of countless human wrecks ; for a man of genius either does something worthy of himself, or something unworthy of himself ; either becomes famous or infamous. The history of the race affords melancholy examples of the fact.

At this period in Dr. Sears' career, or to be more precise, in 1860, he conceived the project of establishing a Quarterly periodical, which should be to America what the *Edinburgh Review* is to Scotland, or the *London Quarterly*, to England—a Review that should embody and symbolize the scholarship of the nation. In his view there was no periodical in the United States that exactly fulfilled this idea. We do not forget that

* "In a communication to the *New York Times*, about twenty years ago, Dr. Sears advocated the feasibility of bridging the East river. Mr. Raymond regarded the project as fanciful and altogether impracticable. Nevertheless, he gave the plan proposed by Dr. Sears a place in the *Times* ; and it was a source of great satisfaction to Dr. Sears to live to see the soundness of his opinion practically verified."

the *North American Review* was then in the full tide of prosperity. But that periodical was Bostonian, rather than national; and, although able and scholarly, it did not sustain the critical character requisite in a thorough Review. Accordingly, the project of establishing one that should come up to his ideal of a Review grew in force with the contemplation of it, until finally in 1860, it took on definite form and proportions. While his Review should be thoroughly national in character, his purpose was to make it a symbol of scholarship, and a power for civilization. The title he gave it was THE NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW.

The following is an exact copy of the first prospectus issued by him announcing his purpose and the character of the work :

PROSPECTUS.

Librarians, Bookfellers, Superintendents of Collegiate and Educational Institutions, and the literary public in general, are respectfully informed that the undersigned will issue, on the first of June next, a Literary and Critical Journal, containing over 260 pages royal octavo, entitled

THE NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW,

EDITED BY EDWARD I. SEARS, A. B.

The new Periodical will not be the organ of any clique or party. It will know no such distinction as North and South, except as indicating integral parts of our common country ; in short, it will be American in the broadest, and most legitimate acceptance of the term.

Although devoted mainly to Literature, Art, Education and general Culture, it will contain occasional articles on the prominent political questions of the day.

While giving due prominence to American Literature, it is our intention that no foreign work of decided merit and value, whether French, German, Italian, Spanish, &c., will be overlooked. The best will be examined in the original ; and such new facts or interesting theories as they may be found to contain, will be brought under review, and discussed in a liberal, cosmopolitan spirit.

Reviews of remarkable works on Christianity, by writers of different religious denominations, will be admissible.

Educational publications will receive careful attention, especially Greek and Latin Text Books. From thirty to forty pages will be devoted to brief critical notices of new books, translations, &c. A list, containing the full titles of all publications received during the quarter, will be given at the end of each number. In a word, nothing will be omitted, which ought to be expected in a critical journal of the first class. No pains nor expense will be spared to render it in fact, as well as in name, THE NATIONAL QUARTERLY of the United States.

It will be observed that Dr. Sears' academic degree at that time was A.B. The degree of LL.D. was an honor conferred on him by the University of New York at a later day, or in 1864.

The *National Quarterly Review* was issued promptly on time, as announced, June, 1860; and the friendly reception it met with on both sides of the Atlantic must have been a source of supreme delight to its "editor and chief contributor." There was some hostile criticism, of course, chiefly, however, from envious sources, and authors and publishers who suffered from his criticisms. Of the articles in this, the first number of the *Review*, three were by the editor, viz.: Dante, The Modern French Drama, The Nineteenth Century; one by the venerable Mrs. A. Lincoln Phelps (Baltimore, Md.), Glances at the Fine Arts; one by Thomas D. Pendergast, LL.D. (England), Italy, Past and Present; one by Prof. Henry Dennison (Glasgow, Scotland), The Works of Charles Dickens; and one by Prof. Max. G. Lloyd (Boston, Mass.), The Poems of Elizabeth Barrett Browning. The author of the one remaining article in the number, Godwin's History of France, is unknown to us. The rest of its pages, nearly a hundred in number—for the *Review* was larger then than now—were devoted to "Book Notices and Criticisms," all of which appear to have been written by our versatile editor himself.

But even the Herculean labor of the *National Quarterly Review* did not exhaust the extraordinary energy of Dr. Sears. Soon after its establishment, or in 1862, he accepted a position to teach the ancient classics in Manhattan College, New York. This post he filled for several years with perfect satisfaction

to the Christian Brothers everywhere, and with signal credit to himself, resigning in 1866 to devote himself more exclusively to the *Review*. His connection with Manhattan College, quality as a teacher, etc., will be sketched in these pages by a hand abler than ours. We will, therefore, confine our observations to other topics.

The success of the *Review* abundantly justified the inspiration by which it was conceived, and the genius which gave it form and substance. We do not refer in this remark to the success which can be estimated in dollars and cents—though in that sense it has never been a failure—but to that higher success, the purely literary success—mental. Dr. Sears' ideal of what a *Review* should be was high. While he did not undervalue purity of style and grace in expression; while he was an eminent conservator of pure speech, the matter which was embodied and took on form in speech was of equal consequence in his judgment. Nonsense expressed in rounded periods and fine phrases was unutterably abhorrent to him. The *Review* should not be a moral placebo, polishing errors that they might be swallowed more easily. Rather should it be an educator, uprooting evil and preparing the mental soil for a healthier and fruitfuller harvest. The harrow and the roller are both useful implements in husbandry, but the plough and stump extractor take precedence. The turf needs to be broken up and the rank undergrowth destroyed ere the soil is ready for the finer implements of cultivation. So it is in the mental soil. It is the purpose of a *Review*, worthy the name, to plough deep, even at the risk of uprooting some vulgar prejudices concealed beneath a fine exterior, otherwise no permanent basis is achieved on which civilization can securely rest. The condition of European society, of society in Ireland, England, Scotland, France, Germany, and especially in Italy and Spain, and the state of literature in each, with which Dr. Sears was conversant, gave peculiar force to this simile, and doubtless had no small influence in fitting him for the vigorous reviewer he was. And we cannot but feel the contempt which he did for fine words over deep wrongs; mild-mannered dissent where violent protest was demanded; a courteous

demeanor instead of strong denunciation towards respectable knaves and swindlers, lest the purity of the English idiom be offended against! There is such a thing as effete respectability, and this is the form it usually assumes. Better were it that literature, pure speech and respectability go to the bottomless pit together than that they should be the nurse of rotteness or made a cloak to conceal the wrongs against humanity!

We have said the *National Quarterly Review* was a success. It was preëminently successful at the outset, during the sixteen years of its publication, and is so still, if the welcome given it by the scholars and critics in all parts of the civilized world be a just criterion on which to base an opinion. We subjoin a little of this evidence of its success from a whole volume of it in our possession:

It certainly exhibits high culture and marked ability.—*London Saturday Review*.

It is at once the most learned, most brilliant, and most attractive of all their (the American) periodicals.—*London Spectator*.

More than a year ago we ranked it with the best of our own Quarterlies, and it certainly has not lagged since in ability or vigor.—*London Daily News*.

It is creditable to our transatlantic friends to sustain a journal which, like the "National Quarterly Review," possesses the courage to unmask false pretensions, and both the ability and disposition to improve the public taste.—*Edinburgh Scotsman*.

It is altogether a valuable journal, breathing a cosmopolitan spirit, and should receive encouragement in this province.—*Toronto Leader*.

Il (the editor) mérite l'estime de nos savans par d'importants travaux comme critique sur la haute éducation, aussi bien que la littérature.—*Indépendance Belge, Brussels*.

La clarté, l'ordre, la précision du style; ce que les Anglais appellent *humour*, et parfois l'ironie, sont les qualités qui distinguent le *National Quarterly Review* au-dessus de tout autre journal littéraire Américain.—*Le Pays, Paris*.

Its articles are of the first order for vigor, comprehensiveness, and ability. Its criticisms are keen, good tempered, and fearless. Literary charlatanism gets no mercy.—*National Intelligencer*.

We have been much interested in witnessing the steady advance of this

periodical. It combines great learning with vigor of style and fearless utterance.—*Boston Journal*.

The Review continues to maintain its fearless method of treatment and its broad catholic views.—*Boston Post*.

This is the ablest Quarterly in the country. It is conservative, but not partisan, scholarly, but not pedantic, learned, and still practical.—*Portland Argus*.

Well warrants our declaring it to be the Review *par excellence* of the country. Its pages are marked by accurate and deep research, profound scholarship, and unprejudiced and fearless criticism.—*Willis and Phillips's Home Journal*.

This periodical approaches nearer in design and execution to the great English standards, the Edinburgh, the Westminster, the London Quarterly, Blackwood's, the Dublin University, &c., than any other American magazine or review.—*Philadelphia North American*.

While perusing its pages, we have been often struck with the sterling qualities of this periodical, which is an honor to our literature and a monument to our national reputation. The view is from the Protestant standpoint; and yet it is, in almost every particular, just and true, though entirely different from that usually taken by Protestants writers.—*Balto. Cath. Mirror*.

We relish the incisive discussions which are a prominent feature in the *Quarterly*, of the "sensation novels," and the very dirty accompanying phases of publishers' and critics' operation, and its energetic exposure of sundry impudent translations of French novels. The critical department is unusually full and careful, especially upon educational books. * * * Its critical estimates of moral and literary merits and demerits are honest, clear, and almost always trustworthy.—*New York Independent*.

While these spontaneous and appreciative notices of *The National Quarterly Review* must be received as evidence of its complete success, in a literary sense, there is competent evidence of a still stronger character that it fulfilled, and continues to fulfill, the high purpose of its founder and editor. In that respect its pages speak for themselves. They afford the best evidence of all of its literary excellence; while the charlatanism in politics, trade and the learned professions it has exposed; the shams in literature, on the part of both author and publisher, it has unearthed; the quackery in colleges and schools it has ventilated; the trickery, bombast and venality it has fearlessly unearthed in various departments of the public interest, testify

more strongly than anything else can do to the eminent success of the *Review*. If the *Review* and its fearless and indefatigable editor, who has prematurely fallen with his face to the foe, had done nothing else, the service which they have rendered the rising generation, in uncovering and breaking up the unscrupulous and mercenary designs of puerile and quack educators, corporations and institutions, entitles both to the lasting gratitude of the American people and of mankind.

But the character of these successes which have attended the *National Quarterly Review* from its inception to the present, is not, we fear, such as would satisfy the modern aspirant for literary distinction. The success to which most men and women aspire, whether they are literary or otherwise, is of a kind more tangible than literary merit, good deeds, or helpful work. It is the opprobrium of the age that the value of any achievement is measured by a pecuniary standard. Character or mere literary merit is seldom an object of envy. In respect of the *Review*, it is not our purpose to test its success in that way, except so far as to say that it was neither maintained by loans, bequests nor endowments; nor by issuing scrip which fell below par or became worthless in the market; nor by begging; nor by appealing to sectarian or partisan feeling for support. The editor secured a respectable living from its legitimate revenue; and if it yielded more than was necessary for that purpose, the fact itself would, in our mind, disparage the value of the *Review*, rather than add anything to it; and weaken our estimate of its success, rather than strengthen it. The day has not come in America when scholarship commands a premium; and he who becomes affluent from the profits of a literary periodical must submit to have the quality of his publication called in question, or doubts thrown on his fairness and rectitude in the conduct of it.

Laying down the *Review*, let us take up the man and editor; and first in respect of his literary quality.

Dr. Sears was by nature and training a literary man. In the first place he was thoroughly educated. His memory was retentive; his learning extensive. He never needed to learn the same thing the second time. What he knew once he

always knew, and this fact gave him great advantage in conversation, and made him an antagonist in debate of no mean proportion. As a latinist he had few superiors, speaking and writing the language of Cæsar and Cicero with rare ease and fluency, and we believe, rarer correctness. Almost as much as this can be said of his knowledge of the Greek language and literature. He was ever quoting some terse line from the *Ænid* or the *Iliad* to make a point, or round a period, and generally with singular appositeness. If in his essays he quoted oftener from the Latin than the Greek poets, it was because Greek was more difficult for the printer and gave the editor, consequently, more trouble with the proofs. For many years it was his custom to read daily from the original some latin or greek author—the *Odes* of Horace or the *Iliad* of Homer—like the devout christian the Bible or the Prayer-book, before going to bed. Indeed, nothing gave him so much satisfaction as the works of the ancient masters. Constant communion with those authors made him not only familiar with their writings, but prepared him to assimilate their thought and enter into their emotions, and finally to accept their faith and philosophy. This course of life could have but one result: it isolated him from intimate converse with his English speaking and praying christian fellows, as effectually almost as if he lived in solitary confinement! The fact may seem of small significance to many people; but in truth it is a fearful experience to be thus imprisoned within one's own breast—a stranger among familiar faces! One thus environed may reside in a bustling city and share the loneliness of one in a wilderness; externally, be surrounded with friends, but in reality live in the long dead past. It is appreciative sympathy that brings human souls into nearness and communion. Where this exists not there can be no permanent joy and satisfaction in companionship. Few men felt the force of this truth more keenly than Dr. Sears. And it was for this reason that he took so much delight in the acquaintance of a scholar of the antiquated type. A new acquaintance of that character gave him the satisfaction of a stranger in a strange land meeting with a familiar face. His first impulse was to embrace

such a one and, if he were needy, to divide with him whatever he had.

With the modern languages, English of course excepted, Dr. Sears was not equally familiar. While he read and translated easily German, French, Italian, Spanish, etc., these languages did not afford him the delight which he derived from Latin and Greek. The best of the modern writers, even Goethe, Schiller or Shakespeare, was not by any means comparable to those of the ancient classical writers. It seemed to him that the course of human development was in cycles. After completing one evolution, so to speak, humanity fell back to the beginning and repeated its experience, discovering over again principles that time and failing memory had obscured. Thus modern truths were but re-discoveries, by different means, perhaps, of axioms established by the philosophers of antiquity. No one who saw so clearly as Dr. Sears the justice of this view could share the enthusiasm of his contemporaries over the supposed discovery of a new idea or the explosion of an old supposed fallacy.

But a man may be master of several languages and still be no scholar. He may be well up in Greek, Hebrew, Sanscrit and Choctaw, and lack erudition. We have known men semi-idiotic who knew Greek; and others of very inferior mentality who could translate Sanscrit and decipher Arabic; and still others, ignorant of elementary chemistry, the circulation of the blood or the rudiments of mathematics, but who could nevertheless read all the modern languages. Something more, therefore, than a knowledge of the ancient and modern languages is required to constitute a scholar. One must possess sense, learning and erudition as well. And in these respects our late friend and editor was certainly not wanting. Indeed, his learning was more extensive than was his scholarship, and his culture, more than equalled by his erudition. He was quite in his element in the higher mathematics, and entirely at home in chemistry and microscopy. And in the collateral sciences of medicine his knowledge was far superior to that of the average practitioner. Indeed, in the history of the progress and development of those sciences his erudition was

most thorough—seemed to want nothing. Nor was he wanting in nosology and diagnostics. Many a time has he tripped up and confused an unwary medical counsellor whom he had called to attend his family. Physicians, be it observed, frequently become lax in technical diagnosis, and give opinions, we are ashamed to say, which do not bear close criticism; not because they are ignorant or ill-informed, but because an ignorant clientage does not stimulate them to exactitude in that respect. They lapse into carelessness and indifference for the want of it. In the instances to which we refer the doctors committed the blunder of presuming upon the usual ignorance of their client. One of these medical gentlemen who met with sudden and unexpected discomfiture at the hands of Dr. Sears was a professor in one of the medical colleges in New York, and a man of more than average ability. The circumstance is quite familiar to us, for we chanced to call on Dr. Sears on the occasion and were wicked enough to join in a laugh at our colleague's expense. It is not at all strange that a man of such erudition as that of Dr. Sears should have felt contempt for the empty professional pretension which is so common in the world to-day.

Did we undertake to give the reader an adequate idea of Dr. Sears' learning in the department of exact science, we should weary him with the long detail. We have frequently conversed with him on subjects which were a part of our specialties, and have as frequently been surprised to find him so well read in them—embarrassed often to find that his knowledge of the literature of such special subjects was superior to our own. And when any point became a subject of controversy between us, it is due to him to say that he was oftener right than wrong. Nor was his erudition confined to medical subjects. In the literature of the natural sciences—physics proper—he was by no means a novice. Jurisprudence, too, was not unknown to him. Familiarity with the literature of these special departments of science and study gave him high rank as an editor of a *Review*.

But if Dr. Sears was proficient in the literature of science, he was not less so in general literature and art. We have

already intimated that history was his specialty. But he had a large acquaintance with biography and belles-lettres. He was as familiar with modern poetry as with the ancient ; and could detect a misquotation with the certainty of a master. Those who have been in the habit of reading his "Book notices and criticisms" in *The National Quarterly Review*, need not be assured of his rare knowledge of books. So, likewise, on art subjects Dr. Sears exhibited almost equal familiarity. Preparatory to entering on his editorial career he had visited the art galleries of Europe and became acquainted with the chief works of the masters. He was conversant with the career and works of the great sculptors and painters, ancient and modern. Music must also be added to the list of his studies. While he played on no musical instrument, he had an appreciative ear. The subject of music is one which one might reasonably suppose to be foreign to the taste of an editor. But it was not so with Dr. Sears. But a few weeks previous to his death, he was at our house by invitation, to lunch and to witness a four-hand performance on the piano. The pieces played were some overtures of Weber's and Auber's, with all of which he was quite familiar. And in a brief chat with the young ladies, though suffering severely from his malady, he quite surprised us with his musical erudition. We had not before been aware that he had an ear for music, much less had we any idea that he had a knowledge of music and an acquaintance with musical literature.

These are a few of the qualifications which our late lamented friend brought to the discharge of those difficult and perplexing duties as editor and critic. We have by no means exhausted the category. And although the pen that enumerates them does not attempt to disguise its friendship for the man and admiration for the genius with which he was endowed, it knows how to be just while it is appreciative. The brain that wields it is not sufficiently versatile to indulge in hyperbolic exaggeration of the qualities of any man, even were it so inclined. The full truth requires even more to be said of the ability of the man than has been said ; and we trust that other heads, larger and wiser than our own may make

up the deficiency. We must now leave the scholar and turn our attention to the writer.

The literary quality is as distinct from any other mental quality, as oratory from eloquence, or music from painting. It does not need learning to enable one to write well; and scholarship is more often a hindrance than a help to literary excellence. He who knows the least is often able to express himself the best; grace and fluency in expression being surface qualities, which, while they are more generally appreciated, are oftener met with and more easily acquired.

Then, there is great variety of good writing. It fact there are as many styles of literary composition as there are varieties of the pulse beat, all normal and equally good. One may prefer Dickens to Macaulay—though that is not conceivable to us—or George Sand to George Eliot—and that, too, is equally inexplicable to us—or Lecky to Buckle; or Channing to Edwards; or Sir Walter Scott to any of these distinguished writers. But who shall say which of them is the superior? There is the finished versatile style of the scholar; the broad comprehensive style of the philosopher; the terse, vigorous style of the thinker; the flippant redundancy of the sensational novelist; the easy felicitousness of the poetic spirit; and the pleasing vivaciousness of the vital temperament. Each is good in its way, but no more comparable, with the others, than is Wagner's music to Beethoven's; or the paintings of Michael Angelo to those of Meissonnier.

In respect of style—or styles, for he had two—of Dr. Sears' literary composition, one was learned without being heavy; light and fluent often, without being weak. His essays on classical subjects were characterized always by clearness and perspicuity, often by felicity. They rarely disclosed inaccuracy, still rarer ignorance of the subject. We cite an illustration at random from his essay on "Epicurus and his Philosophy":

"But the influence of Epicurus and Lucretius was too powerful to be entirely crushed in a thousand, or even two thousand years. There is not one of our modern atheists who has not drawn his chief arguments against the Creator of the

universe from the Epicurian philosophy. If the reader will examine the works of all, he will see how little they contain that is original; and, in nine cases out of ten, this little consists of an exaggeration of the doctrines of Epicurus. Even Descartes had the physical system of the illustrious Greek before his mind, when he promulgated the apothegm: "*Donnez-moi la matière et le mouvement, et je construirai le monde.*" The same matter and motion, be it remembered, were the chief gods of Epicurus; according to him, it is they that had formed the universe and everything that inhabits it. In his physics, Descartes makes nature too independent of the Deity; whereas, in his metaphysics, he makes God and nature nearly one; and his *plenum* had the effect of rendering his system still more confused. Thus it was that he left room for the two systems of Spinoza and Malebranche—one regarding all things as God, the other regarding God as all. It does not seem that Descartes had any better reason for maintaining that "nature abhors a vacuum," than that Epicurus had taught thousands of years before him that a vacuum was essential to motion, a doctrine which, as already intimated, has received the sanction of Copernicus, Newton, Kepler and Galileo. Be this as it may, it is beyond dispute that Descartes, as well as Spinoza and Malebranche, has been influenced by Epicurus.*

In his essay on Dante and the *Divina Comedia*, his style is terse and his conception real:

"Not only is it necessary to be acquainted with all the circumstances in which the author was placed; but, in order to comprehend it, either as a whole or in detail, a careful and laborious preparation is essential; for it must be remembered that the poem embraces all that was known in the middle ages. Much of this had to be unlearned since: in other words, the light of modern science has proved it to be erroneous. This is particularly true of the old system of astronomy and geography, which, however, the reader must be familiar with before he can hope to understand Dante's masterpiece. But the pleasure to be derived from an intelligent

* *National Quarterly Review*. Vol. XVI, pp. 228-9.

perusal will amply repay all the trouble that has been had in preparation. What at first seemed little better than a chaos, though everywhere full of beauties, is found to possess the most perfect harmony. The half-hidden links begin to display themselves one by one. We are led step by step through the most varied situations, and are brought in contact with almost innumerable characters and personages, all so graphically sketched, that one often finds it difficult to remember that what strikes him so forcibly, and awakens within him such variety of emotions, is after all but an illusion—the effect of the enchanter's wand. * * * Homer had sent Ulysses to the infernal regions, and Virgil had taken the same liberty with Æneas; Orpheus, we are told, would have recovered his lost Eurydice had he not looked back into hell. But Dante explores all in person, enters circle after circle, describing all he meets, placing his enemies among the damned, putting them lower and lower down, according to the degree of his hatred toward them, and placing his friends in Purgatory or Paradise, according to the degree of his esteem or affection.”*

This style of literary composition runs through all of Dr. Sears' graver productions. It is as clear as crystal and as comprehensive as his subject. His forte was interpreting the ideas and explaining the methods of other minds rather than original thinking; and in that particular we know of no superior—scarcely an equal in modern times. The subject was not material. Whether it were historic or pre-historic; modern customs or ancient civilizations; Roman comedies or Greek dramas; the ethics of war, or, the literature of China or Hindoo; the Tragedies of Sophocles, or, the Quackery of Life Insurance; the lyrics of Klopstock, or Spanish, or Italian poetry; the philosophy of Lucretius, or Spinoza; or the Defense of Euripides, it was all the same. Clear light was reflected on each from his versatile genius; and when he had finished the reader felt that nothing more remained to be said. The essayist had given him a clearer view of the subject than he could get by a tedious perusal of the original

* Dante. *National Quarterly Review*. Vol. I, pp. 11, 12.

works themselves. Take, for example, a few sentences from his "Defense of Euripides":

"That authors of our own time should have any interest in robbing of his glory, a poet who wrote more than two thousand years ago, may seem absurd at first sight; but we will show, as we proceed, that there is good reasons for it, although it is perverse and unjust. If we turn from the Greeks to the Romans, we shall find that the most cautious and judicious of the latter had as high an admiration for Euripides as the most friendly and enthusiastic of the former. This is true, for example, of Quintilian, than whom, it will be admitted, there has been no better authority since the time of the Stagyrite himself. Quintilian frequently alludes to Euripides, and always in the language of esteem and admiration. The Roman critic is as fond of comparisons as Socrates or Plato; but he is much more cautious in giving decided expression to his preference than either. If the reader will bear this fact in mind he will be the better able to appreciate the following estimate. Having first directed his attention to *Æschylus* whom he justly designated as 'grandiloquent even to a fault,' as well as 'rough and unpolished,' Quintilian proceeds to say:" Here follows some terse declamatory sentences from Quintilian, in praise of Euripides' style, which he declares approaches the "language of oratory;" and the poet, himself, he represents as abounding "in fine thoughts," &c.; after giving which, our essayist proceeds: "We think that no one can intelligently and impartially examine the subject without coming to the conclusion that his influence has been greater than that of any other ancient poet whose works have come down to us, with the sole exception of Homer. We have already remarked that his tragedies were frequently quoted by all the master spirits of his time. Even *Diogenes*, who freely criticised both Plato and Socrates, was always willing to own that he imparted additional force to his best precepts by appropriate quotations from Euripides. But many Greek dramas, now lost, owed their chief merit to what their authors borrowed from the author of *Medea*, *Hippolytus* and *Iphigenia in Tauris*. Nor did he prove a less prolific source to the greatest

thinkers of ancient Rome. Virgil avails himself of his pathetic and striking thoughts in a hundred instances; and both Horace and Juvenal, play court to him in their most brilliant strains. Ovid admired the Medea so much that he composed a tragedy himself of that name, doing little more than transposing both the characters and incidents of Euripides. Seneca, the philosopher and moralist, has more than imitated several of the tragedies of our poet, including Medea, Hercules, Fureus, Troades, Hippolytus and the Phœnicians. Even Cicero found it an instructive and interesting exercise to occupy himself for days and weeks in translating the sonorous, musical and pathetic verses of Euripides.* No language could be more lucid; no style clearer or more comprehensive. One rises after reading the essay, refreshed and invigorated, whether one agrees with the author or not.

We have said that Dr. Sears was an interpreter of other men's ideas, rather than an originator of ideas himself. He did not wander in unbeaten paths, nor rack his brain over some new conception of the Infinite. He was content to take the ancient masters of thought and expression for his guide and devote himself to their elucidation. While that is not the highest order of mind, we would not underrate it. Next in excellence to originality is the ability to appreciate and comprehend originality. If the first constitutes a master, the second makes a teacher. And Dr. Sears was a teacher *par excellence*. Talent like the former may be compared to the rain-drops which supply the streams and fill the fountains; that of the second to a reservoir which receives and distributes the water to dependent and needy districts. Our essayist was like a distributing reservoir of immense capacity, supplying the multitude with living water collected from the out-pourings of the masters of antiquity, who, if not divine, were at least superior to the average conception of the human.

We should not do justice to the *writer*, however, did we neglect to exhibit him as a critic and satirist. No English writer within the present century, with whom we are familiar, equalled Dr. Sears in satirical composition. His sense of the

* *National Quarterly Review*. Vol. XIX, p. 9, *et seq.*

comic and ridiculous was so keen; his wit so thoroughly Irish; and his command of language so full, that no occasion was too set or too common-place to afford him endless material for satire. And it was difficult for him to restrain his amusement, over the ridiculous, even on occasions calling for gravity. Two days before his decease, even when the hand of death was upon him, Dr. Sears was convulsed with laughter on recalling a ridiculous incident that had occurred a few years since—that of a pea-nut vender who was bewailing her misfortune of having been “busted up,” as she averred, by a purchaser buying her ten cents’ worth of stock and failing to pay her! This pure sense of the ridiculous, which Dr. Sears possessed so highly, was not unfrequently the cause of his being misunderstood. He was often placed by it in a false position. It made him appear wanting in respect for things sacred or serious; or in the dignity expected of one in his position. And we must acknowledge that in some respects appearances were too well-founded. In others, however, they did him injustice. On the subject of religion, for example, though he was himself a stranger to religious feeling, he never allowed his levity to get the better of his discretion. Nor was he restrained in that particular from a sense of propriety alone. It is but just to say that the respect he always felt for the sentiments of others was a sufficient restraint. While he may not have feared God, his respect for man forbade him to speak lightly of man’s noblest sentiment—Religion.

Our author’s subjects for satire were mostly well chosen. Shams under whatsoever title, pretension in whatsoever garb, cant and hypocrisy in whatsoever color or form, charlatanry in education and insurance; quackery in its protean forms, titles or otherwise, were themes for endless pen-thrusts. It is not too much to say that to expose a sham or prick a bubble gave him more real satisfaction than to eat his dinner. The title he gave his satirical sketches were in themselves satires. Take, for example: Vassar College and its Degrees; The Puffing Element in American Literature; Central Park under Ringleader Rule; Our Aristocracy as manufactured from the raw material; The Beechers and the Tilttons; The University

of Pennsylvania and its New Windows, etc., etc. The texts selected were equally expressive of the manner in which the subject was treated. We cite one example, a part of that which heads his "Supplement" to the critique on the University of Pennsylvania:

"3. *An Essay on the Art of Growing Rich by DEGREES, as practised in the middle of the Nineteenth Century among the people called Quakers, with some Digressions on Natural History, Equipments, Gunnery, Materia Medica, etc., etc.* Manhattan: MDCCCLXXIII."

And the "Supplement" itself begins thus:

"WE trust it is superfluous for us to say that it is in no boastful spirit we ask our readers of the Keystone State, especially those of the good Quaker City, whether our peculiar mode of treatment has not proved remarkably efficacious in the case of their most venerable patient. That it has made the old lady feel sadly uncomfortable for a month or more, is very true. It is also true that this is a much longer period of suffering than we had calculated upon. We had hoped that the effects of the cantharides, lancet, ipecacuanha, aloes, etc., would have all passed off in a week at farthest.

"But be it remembered, in justice to us, that our venerable patient neither allowed us to feel her pulse, nor see her tongue. Since she thus concealed from us some of her worst symptoms, we think we may be excused for having taken it for granted that her case was not so serious as unhappily it has proved to be. Nothing is better understood among pathologists than that patients who are much debilitated from chronic disease cannot bear much of what some practitioners still call antiphlogistic treatment. If from an imperfect diagnosis this treatment is carried to excess, there is danger that it will kill the patient; at best, in proportion as the constitution is weak, it is slow in recovering from the commotion produced in the system by such agencies as cathartics, scarifications, emetics, etc. This will account for the unusually protracted writhings of our illustrious Pennsylvania patient—writhings which, we trust we need hardly say, moved the bowels of compassion of

none to a deeper pitch of tenderness than ours." Etc., etc.

We regret that our limit forbids us to extract more of this remarkable essay. This, however, will answer our purpose. For severity of criticism and strength of irony, it surpasses anything that was ever printed in the *Review*. The circumstances which called it forth were briefly these: The editor had previously had reason—or thought he had—to write a severe criticism on the University referred to, in which he called in question the erudition and scholarship of its president. The latter had declined, in questionable English, a courteous request in latin, on the part of our satirist, to be permitted to witness the recitations of his classes. Many facts derogatory of the institution had meanwhile collected in the editor's drawer, awaiting an occasion to use them. And for that he had not long to wait. We subjoin below the first paragraph of the Latin epistle mentioned above, together with the reply to it, *verbatim et literatim*:

"Kal. xii, Nov. 1871.

"AD DR. CAROLUM J. STILLÉ, *Præfectum, etc.*:

"CARE DOMINE,—Quando eram in urbe amœna tua, nuper, visitabum tuum auditorium. Volebam per multum te videer, sed infeliciter foris eras. Verum est, certé, quod Prof. Johannes McElroy valde comis et jucundus erat. Equidem, si placit tibi, vellem multas gratias illi, per te, agere pro urbanitati suæ." Etc. *

To this very polite and thoroughly courteous note the following letter, which, according to Dr. Sears, is a literal copy of the original, was received. It will be seen that the "learned" Provost played directly into the hands of his able antagonist:

"UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA,
"PROVOST'S ROOM

"Philadelphia, May 1 1869

"Edward I Sears Esq LL.D.

"Dear Sir:

"I have your letter of the 28th ult: addressed to "the President of Pennsylvania Uneversity," (there

* *National Quarterly Review*. Vol. XXVI, p. 303.

is no such person) and I beg to say in reply, that While our arrangements do not permit the presence of Strangers in our recitation rooms during recitation hours, We shall be happy to see you or any one else enterested in the Subject, at the annual public examination of our classes which takes place from the 15th to 20th June next—

Very respectfully

C. J Stillé

Provost

&c" *

Such was the occasion and such the cause of the remarkable critique, entitled "The University of Pennsylvania and its New Windows," a paragraph or two from which, we extract:

"It is true, that, considered in this light, the University of Pennsylvania is comparatively respectable. Thus, so far as we know, there are only *two* other colleges in the United States who refuse to allow their recitations to be heard by any intelligent person, not known to belong to the "appreciative" class. These two are Fordham and Seton Hall. The standard of education at Fordham is about the same as that of the University of Pennsylvania, except that, perhaps, billiard playing does not receive so much prominence as a branch of education at the latter institution, if it be taught there at all, as it does at the former. Be this as it may, either is many degrees above Seton Hall; or, in other words, either has many degrees to sink before it reaches the "lower depth" of that institution. Accordingly, Dr. Stillé evinces no unseemly feeling further than to refuse; his refusal is couched in gentlemanly language. Father Shea does not, perhaps, manifest his unwillingness in a manner quite so polite as Dr. Stillé, but he says nothing discourteous."

"Upon the other hand, the Very Rev. Father Corrigan is not merely discourteous under similar circumstances, but abusive. An apple-woman, whose "cart" is upset by accident or design, so that her wares are in danger of being picked up and devoured by the passing urchins, could hardly manifest

* *National Quarterly Review*. Vol. XXVI, p. 306.

more rage, or make use of lower or more debasing expressions than the Very Rev. President and Professor of Christian Ethics at Seton Hall, although so long as he thinks that all that is required is to show the billiard saloon, the drinking saloon, or the dormitories, he is as mild as a lamb, and as cheerful and loquacious as a purple-head parrot, who has just dined on almonds and red pepper. Thus, then, the order of rank is, Dr. Stillé, Father Shea, *Very Rev.* Father Corrigan; in other words, University of Pennsylvania, St. John's College, Fordham, Seton Hall College, New Jersey." *

But this will do for the purpose we have in view. The article comprises about fifteen pages of the *Review*, and through the whole of it runs a fine view of irony, which must have pained its subject like acupuncture performed with burning needles. It will be observed that he did not spare the Rev. Catholic professors and presidents who had evinced on similar occasions, an equal aversion to a "Stranger" being present at class-recitations.

While we write thus in praise of Dr. Sears as a critic, we are by no means blind to his faults as such. His impetuosity not unfrequently overcame his prudence; and while confining his criticisms to facts, he forgot, or neglected to exercise charity. His disposition was impulsive; his temperament ardent and sensitive. He was, therefore, easily stung into resentment, in which mood he never gave nor asked quarter. The readers of the *Review* will recall, we fear, many instances in which his hot Irish blood, made still hotter by an unkind cut, or an abusive thrust, drove him into extreme courses; and if then his criticisms were not actuated by *spite*, they were clearly amenable to the charge of being *intemperate*. His recent critique on Michigan University, for example, seemed to us to have been conceived more in a spirit of attack than of pure legitimate criticism; and just so far as this is true of a criticism, we care not how gross be the abuses complained of—and Heaven knows they were rank at Michigan—just so far and

* *National Quarterly Review*. Vol. XXVI, p. 97.

to that extent does criticism lose force and fail of the effect which ought to be the object of all criticism.

There are two things which sorely taxed Dr. Sears' patience—yea, three things which he utterly abhorred. The first was a preceptor who did not understand himself the things he taught; the second was an institution devoted to conferring degrees; the third was a weak, pretentious book. And if in dealing with these things, evils so gigantic in American society that they threaten to undermine its civil progress, Dr. Sears now and then lost his temper and descended to undignified criticism, most people, we believe, will hold him excusable. Indeed, those who are in a position to appreciate the magnitude of these evils, and the necessity of bravely dealing with them, invariably justify the propriety of his course. As one would naturally suppose, those who felt the most keenly the force of his blows, complained the most bitterly of his "spitefulness," and expressed the most regret for his want of "Dignity" as an editor of a "Grave Quarterly."

We have referred to his impatience with a bad book. It is unnecessary, perhaps, to inform readers of the *National Quarterly Review*, that a *weak* book was, in his estimation, synonymous with a *bad* book. Whether he were right or wrong in this opinion, we will not stop to consider. Be that as it may, we cannot but sympathize with the authors and publishers of some of the books which came under his notice. While we regard him one of the ablest book reviewers in America, and admire his terse, incisive method, as well as, his fearless independence in criticism, we, at the same time, cannot believe that his severity was always just, or always wise. With him it was with weak books as it was with weak people. While his judgment was beyond question, his charity might sometimes be found wanting. In noticing a book he had regard first to the intrinsic merit of it; second to the interest of book-readers and book buyers. The other interests concerned, those of author and publisher, were completely lost sight of by him. We cite an instance, that of the second book notice ever published in the *Review*, viz.: "The New American Encyclopedia."

The reviewer begins his critique on the ninth volume of this already obsolete work, by disclaiming any disposition to find needless fault, or desire to attack anybody connected with it; frankly admitting that many of the writers of the articles which it contained were men of literary ability. Then he proceeds to say: "For one article that may be read with profit and pleasure, or that may be referred to as an authority, there are at least twenty that have not even the negative recommendation of being written in correct English. Nor are bad grammar and slang by any means the worst faults of the latter. It is but rarely that we find either their facts or their dates correctly stated, but calculated to mislead rather than guide." (P. 234.) Further on he cites from the work examples of literary blunders, irregularities of expression, and faulty misleading statements. He also cites curious illustrations of redundancy: "The next important event in the history of Hindostan was one which had attracted *the universal attention of mankind in all quarters of the globe*," etc. (P. 235.) Here is another instance: "Herbert, Henry William, *an American author of English birth, born in London, &c.*" (P. 236.) This style of criticism is certainly quite legitimate; and a reviewer who takes the trouble to indulge his pen in it is a public benefactor, deserving the thanks, not only of the public, but of both editor and writer whose work is thus cleverly criticised. But Dr. Sears, did not stop here, in this instance. He boldly charged the authors of the work with conniving at a scheme to immortalize the many penny-a-liners who wrote articles for it, by having sketches of themselves appear in its pages. He writes: "It would be somewhat amusing, if not instructive, to glance over the nine volumes, now published, and see how many scores of persons have been made famous in this way. But on the present occasion we must confine ourselves to the last issue. In this alone there is quite a formidable array of living celebrities. We forbear, however, to give the names of any. If they have written articles either for the work or in praise of it, they have a right to be requited in one shape or another. It is their own affair if they prefer a eulogy on a thing that does not exist—that is their genius. Nor are they to blame for

employing their friends to get up such eulogy for them, even if they have not an opportunity of reciprocating on the principle—'You tickle me, and I tickle you.' (P. 234.) We cite this as an illustrating of improper, illegitimate criticism; but it is such only on the ground that the reviewer was not justified in making, even in *inuendo*, so grave a charge. He must have had evidence other than that afforded by the pages of the work to support the charge, or he was not justified in making it, even by implication, against editors and publisher of such standing as the Messrs. Appleton, Ripley and Dana.

Another example of intemperate literary criticism may be found in an article published in the *Review* for December, 1874, on Bancroft's History of the United States. Dr. Sears, although a foreigner himself, was intensely republican. He was irritated beyond endurance at the spectacle of a distinguished American "toadying" to royalty, or paying court to nobility. In some passages in the last published volume of his history, Mr. Bancroft had mortally offended the critic's republican taste in that regard, and consequently fell a victim to his literary ire. Here, too, was a volume purporting to be devoted to American history, but in reality giving European, that of England, France, Spain, Italy, Germany, the Netherlands, &c., with the lives and literature of court personages and poets of each, together with discursive disquisitions on the Pope, Christianity, Islamism, &c. In respect of this feature of what our terse reviewer calls Mr. Bancroft's "Overgrown and flabby bantling," he writes:

"Suppose we try and picture to ourselves what would have been the result had any of the writers of ancient history proceeded on the fortunately novel plan adopted by our historian; had Sallust, for instance, in his Conspiracy of Catiline, undertaken to treat the subject *ab ovo usque ad mala*, and to favor the Augustan readers with his views on everything that had occurred in Rome—or out of it—from the genealogy of the wolf that suckled Romulus to the moment when the stylus should fall from his failing hand. *Manes* of the unflinching and eloquent Roman forgive us the supposition! it seems profanation to mention thy name even by way of contrast in

juxtaposition with that of the modern bibliographer. But, assuming the possibility of the Augustan author indulging the proclivities of Mr. Bancroft, we may imagine what temptations would have beset him. Dire visions arise of a work which should have contained the entire history of Rome, from the fabled arrival of Æneas into Latium; the biography of Æneas himself; the loves of Venus and Anchises; the judgment of Paris and the Trojan War—perhaps the building of Troy and the stories of Laomedon and Hesione—undoubtedly intermingled with general disquisitions on the nature of the gods, goddesses, heroes, and sea-monsters. Hesione might have suggested Andromeda, which would have furnished an excuse for enlarging on the history, natural and political, of Africa. Of course we should have had a full account of Mauritania and Numidia, with the story of the building of Carthage, and the loves of Æneas and Dido—possibly an excursion into Egypt and the kingdoms of the East. Greece, of course, could not have been omitted, and the historian would then probably have taken a northward flight and instructed his readers in the antiquities of Ultima Thule!" Pp. 83-4.

Then the critic proceeds to take the volume to pieces chapter by chapter; pointing out falsities of fact here, and defects of taste there; now weak bathos, then shallow affectation; through all a discursive tendency which involves the reader in a maze of bewilderment and the author in flat contradictions. The limit of our space forbids citations of examples; but no one can rise from reading them without feeling the justness of the reviewer's judgment, and sharing his opinion that, "when the last volume shall have issued from the press, and Bancroft's History of the United States shall have taken its place on the shelves of the public libraries as a completed work, it is certain that the intelligent general opinion will remain undisturbed, that, notwithstanding the labor which the author has bestowed on his overgrown and flabby bantling, the History of the United States remains yet to be written."

These are fair examples of Dr. Sears' criticism of weak books; and while we heartily sympathize with his severity in dealing with such obvious defects as we have here enumerated,

we could wish that he had sought for and pointed out something to commend; for surely, there is no book so thoroughly bad but it has some redeeming quality. Our critic, however, could not spare the time—nor had he the patience—to write phrases, soft and euphonious, which could only have the effect to break the force of what he intended to say—especially in respect of a poor book. He might condescend to lift his hat to a painted face, if it were expected of him; keep silent over wrongs sanctioned by respectability, if society demanded it of him; submit to wear the aspect of respect toward effete customs at the behest of public sentiment; uncover to folly and hypocrisy moss-covered with age, in deference to religion; but no considerations of policy, personal or otherwise, either of interest or friendship; or private, either of author or publisher, could tempt him to compromise his personal independence in literary criticism, and permit a weak book to pass the ordeal of his notice without the seal of his strong disapprobation.

But we must not tarry longer over the characteristics of the *writer*. Other pens far abler than ours will do him justice in that regard. It remains for us to delineate the characteristics of the *man*, as distinct from scholar, essayist and critic. For after all it is of far more consequence what a man is than what he does. As character is distinct from repute, or shadow from substance, so is the value of the one superior to that of the other.

We have said that Dr. Sears was not a religious man. It is true, he was a member of no religious denomination. He neither attended church, read his prayers, sang psalms, nor engaged in other outward religious exercises or observances. Nevertheless he was not an irreligious man. He acted on the ancient maxim that

“Virtus in actione consistit.”

His confidence was in works rather than faith; and while believing in the existence of a Supreme Being as a Ruler and Governor of the world, he would never permit himself to be drawn into controversy on the subject of His attributes; the form and mode of that Existence being in his view above

finite comprehension, and, therefore, not subjects for profitable discussion.

Honor, generosity, kindness and integrity were strong traits in Dr. Sears' character, and it is only by divorcing these elements from religion, that we can deny him the religious quality. He neither forgot a favor, nor failed to keep a promise. His emotions were strong, both of friendship and resentment. If he were quick to become angry, he was quick to get over it. While he was subject to certain ebullitions of passion, and might then abuse his best friend, the paroxysm evaporated in words and left its victim in a repentant mood. Accordingly the sun seldom went down on his wrath; and no injury he had done a friend by word or deed remained long unatoned for. This was true of him whether the object of his wrath were foe or friend. The emotion of revenge was as foreign to his nature as ice to the tropics; and he could no more indulge in malice, willful and deliberate, than a bird could fly without wings, or than a ship could float in defiance of the law of specific gravity. The strongest law of his impulsive nature was kindness. His sympathy was unbounded. But so also was that of Steele's, Howard's, Greeley's, and other charitably minded but passionate celebrities. The mildest mannered and most peaceably disposed people are not unfamiliar with intense passion and the use of invective. Steele could beat his wife on occasions; and Mr. Greeley call a man a liar and even indulge in profanity with evident relief if not with positive enjoyment. And those were amiable men, surely. Dr. Sears was less amiable than either, and yet no one can justly accuse him of indulging his passionate temper so far as did Steele.

The philosophical reader will regard this phase of Dr. Sears' character as evidence of weakness, in which view we fully concur. Uncontrollable anger is a frenzy of the mind—a kind of madness; and it by no means indicates strength of mind and nerve. It arises in a condition allied to disease; and disease, in whomsoever it exists, is allied to weakness. It may be justly argued, however, in extenuation of our editor's passionate characteristics, that his provocations to anger were

many and frequent. To say that he was an editor and had to revise and correct the Mss. of conceited idiots and half-educated writers—and get cursés instead of thanks for his pains—does not convey an adequate idea of the situation. He was a censor and a critic; and as such took upon himself the thankless task of improving the public taste, and bettering the condition of people worse off than himself. In this labor he received some thanks and strong moral support from certain private and confidential sources, and an immense amount of discourteous, not to say vulgar—abuse, from certain long-eared individuals whose asinine rage had been excited by hard thrusts from his sharp-pointed pen. Those people frequently felt themselves aggrieved by his critical pungency, and gave him no little annoyance, sometimes positive discomfort—pain. Not content with writing abusive and insulting letters to him they often threatened libel suits; or, failing to carry their point in that way, openly charged the fearless critic with “Blackmail.” Sometimes they succeeded in making certain over-sensitive, weakly suspicious people believe that blackmailing operations were part of the *National Quarterly Review’s* programme! We happen to know that the charge of blackmail was the most cruel thrust Dr. Sears’ keen scented enemies ever gave him, false and malicious as it was. That it was resented with spirit we can easily believe. But the charge was not the worst of the matter. A few individuals whom he respected, and whose good opinion he prized beyond money, listened to it without repelling the vile and villainous lie in language it deserved. It almost seemed to many that the charge might have some foundation in fact; and a negative demurrer were worse than a positive assent. Better by far is it to go over to the enemy at once than to play the part of neutrality when one’s friends are attacked. Be that as it may, this charge of “Blackmail,” which was often hurled at Dr. Sears by disaffected writers and angry, disappointed tutors and self-styled preceptors, was no small source of just worry and vexation of spirit to him.

Dr. Sears was generous to a fault. The sentiments of friendship and fidelity were so strong in him as to impair his

judgment. He was as blind to the faults of his friends as he was clairvoyant to those of his foes. If he overrated the former he not improbably underrated the latter. This peculiarity was the natural outcome of an impulsive nature. The preceptors, whom he loved and respected, he could not say enough for; those whom he disliked and regarded unfit for their positions, he could not say too much against. And it is not unlikely that he was, for this reason, sometimes unjust to both friends and foes. But if any one supposes that his feelings in this direction, or that, were ever influenced by money, gifts or otherwise, he is mistaken. Money could not buy him. The very institutions he praised the most paid him the least. He might write up an insurance company in whose solvency he believed for a consideration. But there was not money enough in New York to purchase his indorsement of a sham, or induce him to conceal a wrong. The avenues of approach to his judgment ran through his heart, not through his pocket. Treat him with kindness and consideration and he was your faithful friend and ally, if you were worthy of him; treat him with indignity or contumely, and, while still faithful to his promises and obligations to you, he was your open foe and satirist—finding more faults in your character and conduct, more defects in your culture and education than you were ever cognizant of yourself. We repeat, therefore, that while his good opinion might be open to the suspicion of bias, it was the bias of friendship, and by no means that of cupidity or purchase. Let one beware how one speaks ill of such a man!

His benevolence partook of the nature of his impulsive generosity and kindliness. The poor and distressed never appealed to him in vain. He knew not the value of money. With one hand he took in and with the other as freely gave away. Whether it were a threadbare author seeking a market for his or her manuscript; a beggar asking alms; a hungry organ-grinder eager for a penny; or a flower, or peanut woman, each was an object of his solicitude, and he could not pass any of them by without some small token of his kindness. These are small things to record, surely. But they show the quality of the man as clearly as straws show the direction of the wind.

In a large way he was equally generous and large-hearted. He was always helping those of his friends who were in need of help, and that, too, in the most delicate and refined way. Many are the children, of both sexes, who owe their education to his generosity. Apropos of Dr. Sears' interest in children—other people's, for unfortunately he had none of his own—our heart was recently touched by a little letter addressed to him as editor of the *Review*, written by a little girl, to remind him of his promise to give her music lessons. She evidently knew nothing of his decease, though weeks had passed since the event; and while wondering why he had not been to see her of late, she reminded him that she had the fullest confidence that he would keep his word, and added, "for you never have failed to keep all of your promises with me." The last sentence struck me as peculiarly significant. It accords perfectly with my personal observations of the man; and the correspondence which he left behind is full of the same high acknowledgment. It was my painful duty to inform his young ward and correspondent that her faithful patron and friend was no more.

Young children were as fond of Dr. Sears as he was of them. He loved to listen to their little talk, and was infinitely amused with their childish ways and innocent pastimes; and they were equally interested in him. Nor were children alone objects of his kindly attention and regard. Dumb animals, likewise, shared his intimacy and sympathy. He was never without his favorite horse and dog, which he cared for with greater tenderness than many parents exercise toward their children. And they reciprocated his kindness in the most remarkable manner, his dog grieving over his absence and exhibiting the wildest delight upon his return. The attachment between Dr. Sears and his dog was strangely mutual. The animal was his faithful ally, friend, and servant. He waited on his master with friendly solicitude. When he went to walk the dog handed him his hat and cane and whatever other articles it was his custom to take. When he returned, the same faithful servant welcomed him with the warmest demonstrations of affection; took his hat and cane, or umbrella, as the case

might be, and put them away; brought his slippers, and put away his boots, and all without suggestions from his master. On the other hand the master was equally interested in the welfare and friendship of his dog. Nay, more than that; he seemed often dependent on him for companionship. In his literary work the presence of "Dash" at his side was often indispensable. And hours together, during the stillness of the night when most folks sleep and editors ply their pens with the greatest industry, the faithful animal would lie by his side—sleeping, of course; and yet, whether sleeping or awake, he afforded his master that sweet sense of companionship without which Dr. Sears declared he could not write well. There is something peculiarly touching in this sympathy between man and the domestic animals, and this instance of it throws a flood of light on the life of the man whose personal characteristics we are endeavoring to delineate.

Dr. Sears' life was a continual warfare with shams, and we are not surprised that he was content to lay it down and seek rest where rest alone is to be found. His society consisted mostly of scholars, and his intercourse with them was chiefly confined to correspondence. His letters from them breathe a spirit of appreciation, not to say praise, for his labor in behalf of good schools, and they must have been the source of strength and encouragement to him. Although the soul of politeness and hospitality, he was often diffident in the company of indifferent people. It was not owing to the want of self-possession, but rather to his small fund of light conversation. With equals he was always quite at home, and was ready with anecdote or literature, ancient or modern, as occasion required. He was too well-bred to display his lore or learning; too polite even to correct an inaccuracy or misstatement of a fact on the part of his friend and guest. Indeed we have known him to be purposely ignorant of some point in art or science lest he should appear more learned than his guest. His guests, less learned than himself, were rendered, thereby quite at their ease in his society; their confidence in themselves strengthened, instead of diminished; and the impression they received from his respectful deference to their views and

regard for their feelings was like the pleasure one receives at having met and become acquainted with a true gentleman. The communications which came pouring in upon us from various sources after his decease all testify, in language strengthened somewhat by sympathy, to his rare nobility. "He was a noble man," writes a preceptor who had known him many years, and whose advertisement still graces the pages of the *Review*. And another correspondent exclaims in the fine language of the French: "Comment il se rendit digne de l'immortalité!" We think so. And the immortality one makes for himself is of vastly more consequence than that which is made for him.

Dr. Sears was fond of the society of ladies, and we believe that ladies in general were fond of him. His manner was easy in their presence, but to us he always appeared to disadvantage in conversation with them. On occasions like those, his conversation was too light; too much devoted to compliments, &c. His studied politeness to ladies, too, not unfrequently gave him the air of affectation—that peculiarity of manner which springs from acting a sentiment, the genuine quality of which one does not feel. Dr. Sears showed toward ladies the courtesy of a Frenchman, while his true sentiment was that of a well-bred Irishman. The defect was due to errors of education, rather than to those of mind or heart. Be that as it may, it indicated an order of respect for the sex inferior to that which is due to WOMAN as distinct from *lady*. That distinction would have been regarded as an abstraction by Dr. Sears; for it was foreign to his education to regard woman from any other standpoint than that afforded by mediæval society. In that view woman was a being to be admired, perhaps—certainly, "to sit still and bear children,"* and serve, amuse and interest their lord and superior. The term *female*, in that light, was more proper for her than woman. She was in nowise regarded as a being morally free and responsible, much less as a co-laborer of man in the intellectual workshop of the world. It is needless to say that Dr. Sears sympathized with that view.

* Luther. Table talk.

Public opinion, however, largely determines the character of the judgments as well as the social position of us all, independent of the abstract, psychological distinctions of this thinker or that philosopher. To that power most men have to yield. Dr. Sears may have erred now and then, in acknowledging its supremacy; and if he did, his fault is shared by a great many good and great men—saints, whom the world delights to honor. We knew him well, and while we were not blind to his faults, we loved and respected the man for his great heart and noble, manly virtues. When the faults of the man shall have been all written down in that book to become forever memorable, as a record of good deeds and bad, we are confident that the bad will be found to be more of the head than of the heart.

In concluding our article, it is proper to say that many old contributors to the *National Quarterly Review* and personal friends of Dr. Sears have kindly furnished us for publication their impressions of him. It gives us pleasure to introduce them in the order in which they were received. The first in this order is from the graceful pen of the gifted and venerable,

Mrs. A. LINCOLN PHELPS:

It is fitting that the contributors to the *National Quarterly Review* should cast their offerings of respect and sympathy upon the untimely grave of its lamented editor, Dr. E. I. Sears.

In 1860 Dr. Sears published the prospectus for a new quarterly magazine. To the writer it seemed to promise for our country something more like the *Edinburgh Review* and *London Quarterly* than any periodical we then had. Having recently retired from the active duties connected with education, and having no literary work on hand, I wrote to Dr. Sears, proposing to send for his first number an article either on education or science; these being subjects to which many years of my life had been devoted. With characteristic promptness and decision, he answered, "Please send me an article on the 'Fine Arts.'"

At first I was amused at the idea. I was not an artist. How could I enlighten others upon the "Fine Arts"? But

I began to reflect that from my early youth I had been studying pictures; that I had been taught drawing and painting in my school days; that as the head of literary institutions, I had been conversant with the instructions of the best professors. I had also been a collector of pictures to some extent, both at home and abroad. In my own library were valuable books on the Fine Arts, and I could supply others as they were needed. I then commenced studying for the article; and the result was, that it passed favorably the ordeal of criticism, and even Boston critics said "the article on the Fine Arts is evidently the work of an artist."

I had written much for the young; that had been my specialty. In writing for men and women, I felt a new expansion of intellect and a new impulse of imagination. And so I continued to write for Dr. Sears for some years; indeed, so late as 1875, he published with approval an article from me upon the absurd claims of the woman's rights party to the ballot, etc.

I have been grateful to Dr. Sears for leading my mind from a beaten track; not but that the abstraction of my mind to education and subjects connected with it, was not necessary in the sphere in which I moved for many years; but when retired from these engrossing pursuits, it was better to follow other and newer trains of thought and action.

To Dr. Sears I am indebted for thus putting me into a new school, where, to some extent, I learned the beautiful art of *journalism* and *reviewing*; to take the cream from both, and to mould this into new forms. For example, if "England under the Stuarts" were the subject, the characters of the James' and Charles' were to be brought out as living and acting, amid associates and scenes which surrounded them, until history should become REALITY. This was the great charm of Macaulay's histories. In many respects the mind of Dr. Sears may be compared to that of Macaulay; and with sorrow I say it, in both there seemed to be a want of the warm religious element; and yet both respected and upheld religion.

Of the literary ability of the late editor of the *National Quarterly Review* it is scarcely necessary to say that it was

known and acknowledged in our own and foreign countries. The articles for the *Review* attest his classical learning and research. As a linguist he seems never at a loss, whether his subject were connected with ancient or modern languages.

For sixteen years Dr. Sears labored ably and manfully, not only writing the principal articles, but sustaining the pecuniary department of an expensive publication; a painful conflict of mental labor which should not be thus associated in the same brain. Here, if anywhere, should be a division of labor. The editor and publisher should not be the same person. In the prime of life the constitution of our lamented friend sank under the weight of his complicated and conflicting labors, dying at the age of fifty-six.

In the course of nature it would have been for him to write my obituary; — he would have done it kindly, perhaps *too partially*.

We trust the *Review* for which he sacrificed his life, will be sustained under the care of his friend, Dr. D. A. Gorton, who, in the December number has given proof of ability to do justice to the great work.

May this *Review* ever maintain the principles of truth and virtue, and never suffer its pages to be sullied by the sophistries of a false science,

“Which leads to bewilder, and dazzles to blind.”

With deep sorrow for the untimely death of the late, gifted editor, and with best wishes for the future usefulness and prosperity of the *Review* under its new auspices, I have the honor of being one of the first and probably the eldest of its contributors.

The following brief offering is from the learned writer and mathematician,

DAVID TROWBRIDGE, A. M.:

It is with feelings of great satisfaction that I have this opportunity of offering a tribute to the memory of so good and so useful a man as Dr. Sears. If I were to repeat all the kind words that he has said, and the expressions of personal

friendship which he has often repeated to me, a person whom he never saw, it would not only occupy more space than the *Review* could spare, but it would not, perhaps, exhibit his real character in so true a light as to speak of his kindness towards me before he knew me so well as he afterwards did, or I had become so well acquainted with the character of his own mind. After our first literary acquaintance, so to speak, had ripened into personal friendship, we learned that our political, scientific, educational, theological, and religious views, were closely in harmony, as well as our contempt for shams of every description, and this might easily account for the kindness which he has, for several years past, shown me.

About eleven years ago Professor Kirkwood sent me a number of the *National Quarterly Review*, containing an article of his on "Lunar Phenomena," and it suggested to my mind the thought of sending to the same periodical an article of mine which I had prepared. I was not altogether unused to writing, but I had never tried a *review* article, having confined my compositions to mathematical and other scientific subjects. Indeed, the one which I sent him was not written for any *review*, but was rather a magazine article. Dr. Sears immediately replied to my letter, informing me what changes should be made, and what parts added, and then he would accept it for publication in his *Review*. I offered him the article free of charge, but he informed me that he did not wish to use the time and talents of any one without paying for them.

Thus, he took me by the hand as it were, and led me into his *Review*, offering me such suggestions, both as to subjects to be selected, style of composition, method of treatment, and material to be used, as he thought proper. Need I add that he never was willing to accept from me any essay or article notwithstanding his own trouble in its preparation, without a suitable compensation?

That Dr. Sears accepted an article for what it was mentally worth, and not for the influence which the name of the author might have on the sale of it, is evident from the fact that the reader was not permitted directly to know the name of the writer till afterwards, and perhaps not then. Here, it appears

to me, Dr. Sears took the correct view of the value of a composition to the public, by throwing it directly upon its own intrinsic merit.

I had a high respect for the man, not only for his strong, independent, and kindly spirit, but also for his rare scholarly acquirements. And in respect of these, I cannot do better than to repeat and endorse the opinion of *The Philadelphia Press*, in a recent issue: "For our own part we can honestly declare that Dr. Sears was not only one of the most learned and scholarly of men, with a thorough knowledge of the classic and modern languages, but that his acquaintance with the literature of America, England, France, Germany and Spain was very great."

May the sphere of literary and educational usefulness, which Dr. Sears so well and so nobly filled, be as ably represented by his successor in the Editorial Chair.

The third contribution in this order is from the versatile pen of

JOHN PYNE, A. M.:

It is with hesitation that I assume the pen to add my feeble tribute to those of older and better acquaintances of the late Dr. Sears. Nevertheless I am thankful for the opportunity of expressing in a few words at once my admiration of his varied acquirements, and my personal sorrow at his loss.

It is impossible to look over the list of contributions to the *National Quarterly Review* from the pen of Dr. Sears without being impressed with the extent and variety of his information. It will be seen that there is hardly a subject, or class of subjects, which he has not at one time ably treated. History, biography, ethnology; poetry, the drama, literature ancient and modern, language, science and education, are but a few of the subjects handled by his prolific pen, and with a copiousness and fluency which rendered his essays at once the medium of valuable instruction, and a source of intellectual enjoyment. This variety of information, I may add, was

manifested as fully in his conversation as in his writings. Unlike too many literary men, who habitually reserve their thoughts for the press, either from disinclination to the subject, when not undertaken as a matter of business, or from an impression that the marketable value of their ideas would be diminished by permitting them to expand in the social circle, it was always a pleasure to Dr. Sears to converse freely on the subjects which occupied his mind, or the minds of those with whom he held intercourse; and many a fine thought or brilliant anecdote which appeared in the pages of the *Review* have I recognized as having been imparted to me in one of our previous conversations. On these subjects Dr. Sears had none of the churlishness so common to a certain class of authors; nor of the egotism which precludes recognition of other efforts than those of his own brain. On the contrary, I have often known him, when deeply engaged in the preparation of one of his own articles to lay down the pen and enter with me into an animated discussion of some subject to which I was at the time devoting myself;—and to these conversations I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness for many a train of thought originating from his suggestions, and which led me into investigations and discoveries of which, but for him, I should never have conceived the idea. He had travelled extensively and had made a special study from personal observations of the characteristics which identify the peasantry of modern nations with ancestors of a far different clime and soil. At one time he would point out to me the resemblance between the Irish of Tipperary and the Celtiberians of Spain; at another, the traces of ancient Greek customs recognizable among the modern Irish peasantry; and again, the unmistakably Grecian phrases still in familiar use among the French in Marseilles. These were peculiarities which he had verified from personal observation; and his remarks on the subject were illustrated by anecdotes of his own experience which gave them a charm at the time and impressed them indelibly on the memory.

Dr. Sears was a sworn foe of everything like imposition. The able manner in which he exposed and aided to over-

throw the oppressions of the Political Ring in New York must be in the memory of all readers of the *Review*, and has entitled him to the lasting gratitude of all order-loving citizens. In other departments his exertions were equally untiring. To the subject of education his energies were of late especially devoted. He was quick to perceive and prompt to expose the hollow pretensions of those institutions which rely for success on flaming advertisements, exaggerated circulars and a pretentious list of studies, while neglecting the proper means of impressing truth on the youthful minds entrusted to their care. He had little respect for the hot-bed system of instruction; and handled with unsparing severity the *manuals* so popular in modern schools which profess to impart an entire branch of study in the pages of a duodecimo volume. He has often pointed out in forcible language the fact that these manuals, however convenient for the instructor, are, as regards the student, worse than useless—that they are not only superficial, but from the hasty manner in which they are necessarily prepared in most cases, the vehicle of erroneous ideas which subsequent experience will, with difficulty, correct. This work was with Dr. Sears a labor of love. He loved the young. He felt an interest in their welfare, and could not bear to see their intellects perverted while they were yet unable to judge for themselves. His advice to parents and guardians may at all times be read with advantage; and there are many who at this day will recognize with a feeling of gratitude the hand that first taught them to choose the right path from the wrong.

In another department to which Dr. Sears directed special attention recent events have only too forcibly shown the importance of his counsels as well as the foresight by which they were directed. The system of life insurance, which, when properly conducted, is one of the greatest blessings of a nation, has, under modern management, become the source of evils untold. The spirit of speculation, which is peculiarly the bane of our country, has found peculiar scope in the management of insurance companies; and the funds intended as a sacred trust for the benefit of the widow and the orphan, have been made the subject of what may be styled gambling

ventures, for the sole purpose of increasing the salaries of directors and the dividends of stockholders. To conceal the fact, which, if known, would be fatal to the success of the companies, recourse was adopted to the practice of what is called manipulating assets—returning as valuable investments that which was no investment at all, but a simple debt or claim, adding little or nothing to the security of the policy-holders. It was Dr. Sears who first undertook to point out the fallacy of these returns—to show the real character of such items as “premium notes,” “deferred premiums,” “interest due and accrued,” and many others, which companies used to swell the list of their nominal assets; and, what was still more serviceable, put his finger on the companies whose returns showed a large proportion of such items—estimated by careful calculation the real available surplus on which policy-holders, often unused to business, could, with safety, rely—and while thus pricking mere bubbles and probing to the quick the diseases lurking under a fair seeming surface, showed all the more clearly in their integrity the truly substantial companies to whose value he was always ready to bear honorable testimony. Nay, more; he sedulously collected from the reports of our courts all cases in which insurance companies were prominent parties; and by bringing them together made it manifest what companies were actuated by a sincere regard for their duty to their policy-holders, and what, by simple greed of gain and indisposition to pay their just debts.

In the period of disastrous failures with which the past year terminates, many will see cause to bless the memory of the author who warned them in time from the rocks on which others are stranded.

Of the personal qualities of Dr. Sears there are many whose longer and intimate acquaintance will enable them to speak more fully than myself. But I cannot feel as if this humble tribute were complete without some mention of his winning manners, his genial disposition, and his faculty of engaging the affections of all those with whom he was brought into contact. One secret of this lay in his warm Irish heart. He gave his own friendship readily and thus conciliated the

regard of others. There are few among those who enjoyed the privilege of his acquaintance who will not regret him as a personal friend; and when we consider the work that he had already effected, which ceased only with his death, we may feel that the best epitaph which might be chiselled on his tombstone would be the motto of his own *Review*:

"Pulchrum est bene facere reipublicæ, etiam bene dicere haud absurdum est."

The fourth and concluding tribute to our subject, giving Dr. Sears' connection with Manhattan College and his characteristics as a preceptor, &c., is from the graceful hand of his personal friend, the

Rev. Brother PAULIAN:

Soon after Manhattan College obtained its charter Dr. Sears assumed the chair of Latin and English literature, and toiled with wonderful will and energy in this new field of labor. So unremitting were his efforts to advance these studies, that the fruits of his endeavors were soon visible in the exceptionally high standard which these branches reached under his watchful care. He loved the old Greek and Latin authors dearly, and constantly strove to inspire his pupils with the same affection for them. His unfailing advice to them was conveyed in those happy words of Horace:

*"Vos exemplaria Græca
Nocturna versate manu, versate diurna;"*

and nothing afforded him greater pleasure than to quote to his class the pithy sayings of the great authors of antiquity, and to comment on the peerless form in which these masters of language knew how to dress their thoughts. Still his mind was multilateral and acquisitive, rather than analytical and exhaustive; which fact coupled with the necessarily varied nature of his avocations did not permit him to hold that intimate relation with the authors of his choice, which intimacy has made them the untiring wraiths of the wise men of Bonn and Berlin.

Dr. Sears' teaching was of the most practical character, and he fully appreciated the advantages of the system of instruction which makes the student give account of the knowledge he has acquired.

Hence he was ever proposing questions to the class, and no student could hope to obtain the verdict of his approval by a mere dilettante attention to his lectures and explanations. Master of the modern languages, he felt that to their daily use in conversation he chiefly owed his knowledge of them, and thus convinced of the advantages of the colloquial system he applied it in the teaching of latin. In accordance with this plan he established a separate class of latin conversation which soon became a marked success in the College. He recommended his students to adhere, so far as possible, to the classical forms of speech, and to select modes of expression and idiomatic phrases from the pages of Livy, Cicero and Sallust, rather than to trust to modern sources of Latinity which he always regarded with a certain degree of misgiving.

Thus the knowledge of the language became as it were, crystallized in the youthful minds, and what was once learned in this way was rarely forgotten.

During all the years of his connection with the College, this class was his chief solicitude; and those students who evinced an aptitude and a desire to excel in this particular, were the recipients of his warmest praises and encouragement. Indeed, even when the cares of the *Review* engrossed his attention and he could no longer interest himself personally in the class, he was far from forgetting its fortunes. He not only paid frequent visits to it, but labored with his pen to found a professorship of Latin. He often assured the managers of the College that his chief ambition in striving to make his *Review* a success, was that he might, with the money thence accruing, promote the cause of education, and first of all to create a permanent chair of Latin in Manhattan College.

His varied and extensive reading enabled him to impart a more than usual interest to his lessons in English literature. He was acquainted with the most obscure as well as with the most distinguished writers in our language, and no matter

how deftly purloined a student might deem a passage or a thought, the unerring eye of the Doctor could detect the plagiarism and refer the culprit to its source. His illustrations, taken from so wide a field, were always apt and pointed, and served to enforce his precepts. And yet he was free from all taint of pedantry and preserved in his speech that same severe simplicity which is so characteristic of his writings. He encouraged his students to speak *extempore* frequently, but not till their thoughts had become systematically fixed in their minds. He felt that in this way alone could they acquire that readiness and dexterity in debate so essential in a country where public affairs are the theme of universal discussion.

Yet was he mindful of the injunction of Quintilian that no one should acquire the pestilent habit of hiding nonsense under a mass of verbiage. Consequently he frowned upon empty declamation, and insisted that each student should have deeply pondered over what he had to say before attempting to embody his ideas in speech. In this way he contrived to add, what Lord Bacon calls the readiness of an extempore speaker to the accuracy and fullness of him who writes and reads. In criticising the essays of the class he did not content himself with a mere general assent or dissent, but analyzed each sentence as he read it; pointed out the improprieties or merits of the style, the soundness or falsity of the sentiments; exhibited defects of taste, gave due meed of praise where deserved, and, in a word, left nothing undone that the student might reap the benefit of a thoughtful and judicious criticism. And that the students themselves might early acquire the rudiments of the difficult art of criticism he appointed them to pass judgment on each others performances and to assign a reason for their opinions.

Thus did the years of his connection with Manhattan College flow on in uninterrupted harmony between himself, the Faculty and the students; and not without regret did he yield to the growing demands of the *Review*, which finally absorbed his whole time. He was courteous to all and patient in a marked degree with the students. He never allowed himself to be betrayed into a hasty expression, and he always wore a

smiling countenance in the class room. Forbearance was not, however, his leading virtue; and he often dipped his pen in vinegar when repelling an assault or resenting a fancied wrong. This defect in him grew out of the extreme honesty of his character and convictions, for he could not tolerate the malice which to him seemed necessarily to lie at the bottom of every accusation, however frivolous, which was brought against him. A little more lenity in reply would have often saved him trouble; but he seemed, like all critics, to have delighted in shivering a lance with an opponent. Nor was he always free from the petulancy which is so often born of the silly taunts of those who, knowing a man's weakness, delight in assailing it. He thus no doubt penned not a few bitter things which in calmer moments he would have preferred to have left unwritten. His unusual susceptibility to imaginary offence, while it thus brought him into collision with men of distinction who never meant him wrong, was in reality the legitimate outcome of a chivalrous sense of honor, which bristled up at the mere shadow of injustice. Though professing himself a Protestant, his views were of the most liberal sort; and no less a writer than the late Archbishop Spalding has quoted with approbation many passages of the *National Quarterly Review*. He seemed to have had a single eye to the truth; and we believe he never wrote a line under the influence of prejudice, or a narrow, fanatical spirit. Nor would he allow the *Review* to become the organ of a clique or party, but freely offered its pages for the frank and fearless discussion of all important issues. His love of truth, no less than his Celtic impetuosity, served at times to impel him counter to his worldly interests.

It is related of him that having been engaged by the conductors of a very influential magazine to write an article on the condition of Ireland in which all the miseries of that unhappy isle were to be laid at the doors of Catholic Priesthood, so far was he from consenting to such a course he requested entire freedom of action, and this obtained, he wrote a powerful article in which he showed that English misrule was the true cause of Irish troubles, and that the Priesthood of Ireland

was the hope of the nation. It is needless to say he was never after requested to write for that magazine.

His mind was logical, if anything, and his speedy perception of the truth enabled him to arrive at correct conclusions in regard to important matters, while the majority of writers were still floundering in a quagmire of doubt. This was notably the case at the time when the Italian occupation of Rome and Victor Emmanuel's spoliation were occupying men's minds; for not a few Catholic writers overawed by the utterances of the English press, professed to see no injustice in the matter, till Dr. Sears, in a vigorous and eloquent article on the "Temporal power of the Pope," conclusively demonstrated that a glaring wrong had been perpetrated by the usurping Piedmontese government; and that the title of the Popes to their temporal possessions was stronger than that of any crowned head in Europe. It may be said that he took the lead in this discussion in the United States, and his views were warmly applauded by some of the most illustrious Catholic prelates. So marked a feature in his character was respect for historical truth that he never expressed an opinion on matters pertaining to history without buttressing his views with most substantial reasons. This was notably the case in his conversation and lectures in the College. He would never permit his *ipse dixit* to pass current as authority, and the students soon learned to respect his word as synonymous with truth. He was not alone a lover of truth but a fearless exponent of it when circumstances required. This was the occasion more than once of embroiling him in dispute with those to whose opinions and conclusions he took exception; but the Doctor rather courted than shunned opposition, and he most frequently worsted his adversaries.

Of course a man of his temperament could not escape the stinging shafts of calumny; but in the end he triumphed over all his enemies and proved to the world that baseless charges oft recoil on the head of those who prefer them, or at best that they are but a

"Telum imbelli sine ictu."

His extreme gentleness and simplicity of manners endeared him to all those who were associated with him in the College,

and superiors and fellow professors alike held him in high esteem. His articles on the rise and progress of Spanish literature will ever be regarded as highly valuable contributions on this most interesting subject. Indeed, what he has written on the poetry of Spain, though confined within the narrow compass of a few *Review* articles, embraces more correct views and substantial information than some of our much lauded volumes on the same subject. It was not without regret that at last compelled by the necessities of the *Review*, he separated himself from the College, where his memory will long dwell perfumed with the graces of his gentle bearing and chivalrous disposition.

- ART. II.—1. *Essays Literary, Moral and Political.* By DAVID HUME. London. 1870.
2. *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations.* By ADAM SMITH. London. 1796.
3. *Traité d'Economie Politique.* Par JEAN-BAPTISTE SAY. Philadelphia. 1830.
4. *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation.* By DAVID RICARDO. London. 1846.
5. *Principles of Political Economy.* By JOHN STUART MILL. London. 1867.

THE science of political economy is to society what the science of medicine is to the individual. Like the science of medicine, too, the philosophy of political economy is experimental. In no instance are the truths of political economy established by *a priori* reasoning. They rest on a basis of natural law, and while demonstrable, are not so in the same way that mathematical truths are demonstrable. When we say, for example, that the square of the hypotenuse of a right angle triangle is equal to the sum of the squares of the other two sides, we state a proposition that is demonstrably true; but when we say that all men will die, or that the sun will rise to-morrow, we state a proposition that is not demonstrable, but the truth of which we know, experimentally, in the same manner that a child knows that the flame of a candle will burn its fingers. The child does not reach that conclusion by any process of reasoning, for it is incapable of reasoning; it knows the fact simply by experience.

All reasoning in political economy is reasoning concerning matters of fact. And the science itself is the result of the progress of the human mind in its difficult way from effect to cause; frequently being lured into the devious and treacherous paths of *a priori* reasoning, until it finds itself in the wilderness of pure speculation; thence returning to the safe road of experimental philosophy and pursuing its onward

course, by careful analysis, through all the complexity of concrete social phenomena; eliminating abstract truths in their regular order of sequence, from cause to cause, until it has reached the infinite First Cause, beyond which eternal barrier human reason may not attempt to pass.

Whatever human experience has proved to be true in social phenomena, however inadequate human reason may be to assign the cause thereof, will always be true: whatever human experience has proved to be false, however inadequate human reason may be to assign the cause thereof, will always be false, despite legislative *Whereas* and *Be it Enacted*; and whatever has not been established by experience is empirical.

The ancients contributed little to the investigation of economic science. Aristotle discoursed upon the advantages of money in promoting the division of labor, without which, indeed, there could be no division of labor, and, consequently, no civilization. But Aristotle did not inquire into the laws which govern the value of money: and if he had attempted such inquiry, he would have failed, because the financial experience of mankind did not furnish him data for the task. It was not till modern times, when experimental philosophy, revived by Bacon, had again obtained recognition, that the science of political economy became possible. Locke enunciated an elementary law in respect of money, namely, that its value, whether of paper or coin, is inversely as the quantity multiplied by the rapidity of the circulation; but he made no intelligent explanation of what he meant by rapidity of the circulation, and the mere enunciation of the principle itself appears to be the only contribution of value he made to the science. On the other hand, he fell into the error of *a priori* reasoning in discussing the theory and law of interest, announcing that the rate of interest, other things being equal, was inversely as the volume of the circulation: a proposition which is almost diametrically opposed to the truth, namely, that the rate of interest is not permanently affected by the abundance or scarcity of money, but by that part of circulating capital not consisting of money.* Montes-

* Ricardo. *High Price of Bullion*.

quieu fell into the same error in discussing the law of interest; but he enunciated several important experimental truths without undertaking the analysis of their cause. For instance, he remarks: "It would be an excellent law for all countries, who are desirous of making commerce flourish, to ordain that none but the real (metallic) money shall be current, and to prevent any method from being taken to render it ideal (paper).*" And again: "Trade is in its own nature extremely uncertain; and it is a great evil to add a new uncertainty (paper money) to that which is founded on the nature of the thing." And again: "A prodigious quantity of gold and silver is therefore an advantage, when we consider these metals as merchandise; but it is otherwise when we consider them as a sign; because their abundance gives an alloy to their quality as a sign which is chiefly founded on their scarcity."† That is to say, if the circulation be in excess, even though it be of gold and silver, it is a depreciated currency. This is theoretically true, though practically impossible. Hume's essays were the most valuable contributions to political economy that had been made up to his time, and they must have placed Adam Smith under obligations to their distinguished author. Although Smith, in one or two instances only, quoted Hume in his great work, he acknowledges his indebtedness to him in his personal intercourse and correspondence.

Hume's *Essay on Interest* has not been surpassed in completeness or accuracy to this day. It is scarcely necessary to observe that his method is rigidly experimental. He remarked that "All reasonings concerning matter of fact seem to be founded on the relation of *Cause* and *Effect*."‡ And again, "*What is the foundation of all our reasonings and conclusions concerning that relation?*" It may be replied in one word: *EXPERIENCE*." And again: "If we reason *a priori*, anything may be able to produce anything. The falling of a pebble may for aught we know extinguish the sun; or the wish of a man control the planets in their orbits. It is only

* *Spirit of the Laws*. Book XXII, chap. iii. Eng. Tr.

† *Ibid*.

‡ *Inquiry Concerning the Human Understanding*.

experience which teaches us the nature and bounds of cause and effect and enables us to infer the existence of one object from that of another." And with reference to the value of money, he remarks: "It is also evident that the prices do not so much depend on the absolute quantity of commodities and that of money which are in a nation, as on that of the commodities which come or may come to market, and of the money which circulates. If the coin be locked up in chests, it is the same thing with regard to prices as if it were annihilated; if the commodities be hoarded in magazines and granaries a like effect follows. *As the money and commodities, in these cases, never meet, they cannot affect each other.*"* The italics are ours. This statement is the nearest approach to the analysis of the principle involved in the rapidity of the circulation which had been made up to that time. Adam Smith, however, gave to the world the first complete work entitled to be considered as a full exposition of the Science of Political Economy. It may be said of Adam Smith, with reference to the natural laws of political economy, as it was said of Blackstone, with reference to the statute laws of England—"He it was that first gave to the law the air of a science. He found it a skeleton, and clothed it with life, color and complexion." In addition to natural power of analysis, Adam Smith was fortunate in his circumstances and opportunities. His access to the Bodleian Library while studying at Oxford, and his course of study at the University of Glasgow, enabled him to store his mind with extensive knowledge. His subsequent residence and occupation at Edinburgh gave him opportunity for study. His professorship at the University of Glasgow enabled him to reside in that large commercial and manufacturing city, all of which greatly assisted him in his favorite study;—while his two years on the Continent of Europe, where he enjoyed the advantage of personal intercourse with public men, among whom ~~were~~ Turgot *was* himself, must have enlarged his mind and imbued his work with those liberal ideas for which it is noted: and the ten

* *Essay on Money.*

years subsequently occupied in the production of his great work, all conspired to render *The Wealth of Nations* the first in rank in the literature of political economy.

Smith's critics have oftener proved themselves in error than overthrown his positions. One, at least, of the most vital principles of the law of currency enunciated by him has remained in almost total obscurity for a century. Even Mr. J. S. Mill could not or did not quite understand it,* and only one writer of good repute† appears to have been impressed with its importance. It is this: "The circulation of every country may be considered as divided into two different branches; the circulation of the dealers with one another (cheques), and the circulation between the dealers and consumers (coin or bank notes). The value (price) of the goods circulated between the different dealers, never can exceed the value (price) of those circulated between the dealers and consumers; whatever is bought by the dealers, being ultimately destined to be sold to the consumers."‡ That is to say: wholesale prices cannot exceed retail prices, and since it is the average wholesale prices which determine the course of international trade, the volume of coin or note circulation, multiplied by the rapidity of the circulation, determines the prosperity of the nation. He spoke of money as "the great wheel of circulation," and considered the money of a nation part of its fixed capital, (although it is at the same time circulating capital) an idea the importance of which strongly impressed Dr. Wayland.§ Although Hume's Essay upon The Balance of Trade—the phantasmagoria of politics—had set many absurd notions at rest, yet Smith's analysis of the subject presented many new points. He remarked that the balance of consumption was more important than the balance of trade:

"This balance of produce and consumption is entirely different from what is called, the balance of trade. It might take place in a nation which had

* *Mill's Principles*, Book III, chap. xii, sec. 8.

† Professor Rogers' edition of *The Wealth of Nations*.

‡ Book II, chap. ii.

§ *The Elements of Political Economy*. Francis Wayland, D. D., pp. 41, 42.

no foreign trade, but which was entirely separated from all the world. It may take place in the whole globe of the earth, of which the wealth, population, and improvement may be either gradually increasing or gradually decaying. * * * A nation may import to a greater value than it exports for half a century, perhaps, together; the gold and silver which comes into it during all this time may be all immediately sent out of it; its circulating coin may gradually decay, different sorts of paper money being substituted in its place, and even the debts too which it contracts in the principal nations with whom it deals, may be gradually increasing; and yet its real wealth, the exchangeable value of the annual produce of its lands and its labor, may, during the same period, have been increasing in a much greater proportion.”*

That is to say, a nation may export its coin, or even its interest bearing securities, in exchange for raw material of reproductive consumption, and still be growing rich. Or a nation may be importing coin, or its own or foreign securities, or manufactured commodities of unproductive consumption, in exchange for its own raw materials of reproductive consumption, and still be growing poor. But if a nation should export its coin, and its interest bearing securities, its bank stocks and mortgages on its fixed capital, and its raw materials, in exchange for manufactured commodities of unproductive consumption,† the balance of consumption as well as the so-called balance of trade is against it, and utter bankruptcy and impoverishment of such a nation is only a question of time.

With reference to money, although anticipated by Hume, in theory, he laid down the important law that “The whole paper money of every kind which can easily circulate in any country never can exceed the value of the gold and silver, of which it supplies the place, or which (the commerce being supposed the same) would circulate there, if there was no paper money.”‡ That is to say, if the law of distribution of precious metals, as money, throughout the world, prescribed a limit of \$200,000,000 gold or silver as its maximum circulation (as it did to the United States previous to the late war) then, commerce being supposed to be the same, only \$200,000,000 of gold or silver can be made to remain in circulation; and if gold and

* Book IV, chap. iii.

† This is what the United States have been doing for twelve years.

‡ Book II, chap. ii.

silver be supplanted by paper, then the whole real value of the paper is only \$200,000,000, notwithstanding that its nominal value may be (as at present in the United States) \$700,000,000.

It is somewhat remarkable that Adam Smith did not perceive the importance of the principle of the rapidity of the circulation as affecting the value of money and the prosperity of a nation, although Locke had announced it, and Hume had emphasized it. Probably he thought the rapidity of the circulation was a normal quantity, which, perhaps, was true under a metallic system in his day.* It should be borne in mind that it is only under a protracted system of inconvertible paper that all the phenomena of the laws of money are disclosed. The data at Smith's hands were very meagre. The North American Colonies had embarked upon the shoreless ocean of Bills of Credit, but the experiment had not developed all its consequences. He remarked that "A positive law may render a shilling a legal tender for a guinea, because it may direct the courts of justice to discharge the debtor who has made that tender. But no positive law can oblige a person who sells goods, and who is at liberty to sell or not to sell, as he pleases, to accept of a shilling as equivalent to a guinea in the price of them."† It was about this time that the Continental Congress resolved that the Bills of Credit ought to pass for the same value as Spanish dollars, and that all persons refusing to take them at this valuation shall be considered enemies to the United States. Smith also observed: "But allowing the colony security to be perfectly good, a hundred pounds payable fifteen years hence, for example, in a country where interest is at six per cent., is worth little more than forty pounds ready money." It is quite true that John Law had—to use the language of Voltaire—"played a desperate game of chance against a whole nation," but no minutely intelligible account of the so-called Mississippi scheme had been or could be written. The affair ran its course in two years, and events chased each other in such rapid succession as to elude even observation. Analysis was out of the question.

* The rapidity of the circulation advances as the civilization advances and as the division of labor is extended.

† Book II, chap. ii.

On the subject of taxation, Smith was very accurate and complete. His able discussion of the subject rests upon four fundamental maxims which are at once comprehensive and just, and "may be said to have become classical:" *

"*First*.—The subjects of every State ought to contribute towards the support of the Government, as nearly as possible, in proportion to their respective abilities; that is, in proportion to the revenue which they respectively enjoy under the protection of the State, &c.

"*Second*.—The tax which each individual is bound to pay ought to be certain, and not arbitrary. The time of payment, the manner of payment, the quantity to be paid, ought all to be clear and plain to the contributor, and to every other person, &c.

"*Third*.—Every tax ought to be levied at the time, or in the manner, in which it is most likely to be convenient for the contributor to pay it, &c.

"*Fourth*.—Every tax ought to be so contrived as both to take out and keep out of the pockets of the people as little as possible, over and above what it brings into the public treasury of the State," &c. †

On the subject of rent he was equally just and comprehensive.‡ In agriculture the word rent he applies to the net produce of the land; in other words, the income yielded by the natural and inherent powers of the soil. The incidence of a tax on land is on the owner, not on the cultivator. The rent on dwellings he divided into two parts, one called the building

* J. S. Mill.

† Book V, chap. ii.

‡ "Hume wrote a congratulatory letter to Smith on the publication of the *Wealth of Nations*, and it is a curious fact that he pointed out the principal defect in the work. He says, 'I cannot think that the rent of farms makes any part of the price of produce.'" *Ency. Brit.*, Art. *Adam Smith*.

What Adam Smith really said was this: "Rent, it is to be observed, therefore, enters into the composition of price in a different way from wages and profit. High or low wages and profit, are the causes of high or low price; high or low rent is the effect of it. It is because high or low wages and profit must be paid in order to bring a particular commodity to market, that its price is high or low. But it is because its price is high or low; a great deal more, or very little more, or no more, than what is sufficient to pay those wages and profits, that it affords a high rent, or a low rent, or no rent at all."—Book I, chap. xi. The idea, therefore, that Adam Smith considered rent as making price is purely fanciful. It must be admitted, however, that Smith was guilty of a verbal inaccuracy in expressing his meaning. This is only one instance where Smith's critics have misunderstood him. See note to Prof. Rogers' edition of *Wealth of Nations*. Vol. I, p. 154.

rent, the other the ground rent : the building rent is regulated by the ordinary rate of interest upon money, and a reasonable profit to the builder. "Where the market rate of interest is four per cent. the rent of a house which, over and above paying the ground rent, affords six, or six and a half per cent. upon the whole expense of building, may perhaps afford a sufficient profit to the builder."* Whatever rent a house yields above a reasonable building rent belongs to ground rent, or, as we should say, is due to advantages of situation. The incidence of a tax on houses is partly on the owner of the ground, but mostly on the occupant, without retribution. This fact should be considered by those reasoners *a priori*, who would impose nearly the whole of the local taxes upon houses, upon the theory of diffusion.† On the subject of international trade, Adam Smith by no means held the extreme views commonly understood by the phrase "Free trade." He opposed the establishment of monopoly prices by tariff legislation, and inveighed against all legislation founded upon the antiquated and absurd idea of the so-called balance of trade. And he was indisputably right. Within these limitations he was an intelligent protectionist. He said that capital employed in home trade was much more productive than capital employed in foreign trade by reason of its being turned oftener. He said it was absurd to expect that freedom of trade would be entirely restored in Great Britain. He objected simply to taxes imposed with a view of preventing or diminishing importation.‡ He opposed the Mercantile System because it constantly sacrificed the consumer to benefit the producer, which was an erroneous policy, because consumption is the sole end and purpose of production. |

"By the 8th of Elizabeth, chap. 3, the exporter of sheep, lambs or rams, was for the first offense to forfeit all his goods forever, to suffer a year's imprisonment, and then

* Book, V. chap. ii.

† *Vide* Vol II, p. 435, note, Prof. Rogers' Ed. *Wealth of Nations*. Taxes upon the rent of houses.

‡ Book IV, chap. ii.

| Book IV, chap. viii.

to have his left hand cut off in a market town upon a market day, to be there nailed up; and for the second offense to be adjudged a felon, and to suffer death accordingly.”* Other severe laws were enacted in England for the purpose of protecting woollen manufactures, and Smith justly declared that they were like the laws of Draco, and might be said to be all written in blood. On the other hand he dwelt upon the advantages of manufactures in promoting the division of labor, using his celebrated illustration of pin-making as an example. He laid down the principle that the “division of labor is limited by the extent of the market” as it also is by the amount of capital available for investment in manufacturing industry. He said that “commerce and manufactures gradually introduced order and good government, and with them the liberty and security of individuals among the inhabitants of the country, who had before lived almost in a continual state of war with their neighbors, and servile dependency upon their superiors. This, though it has been the least observed, is by far the most important of all their effects. Mr. Hume is the only writer who, so far as I know, has hitherto taken notice of it.”† This declaration of Smith’s, philosophical as it was, is a practical concession of the doctrine of protection to manufactures. Within the limits of intelligent action the obligation is peremptory upon every government, and especially that of a democracy.‡ The democratic principle cannot possibly exist in any community where the division of labor does not widely exist.

The *Traité d'Economie Politique* of M. Say ranks, without doubt, next to *The Wealth of Nations*. Ricardo observed of Say that “he was not only the first, or among the first of the continental writers, who justly appreciated and applied the principles of Smith, and who has done more than all the other continental writers taken together, to recommend the

* Book IV, chap. viii.

† Book III, chap. iv.

‡ So long as taxation is employed as an instrument of revenue and not of monopoly, the principle of protection to home industry should be observed. Within these limits protection is sound policy and thoroughly scientific.

principles of that enlightened and beneficial system to the nations of Europe ; but who has succeeded in placing the science in a more logical and more instructive order ; and has enriched it by several discussions, original, accurate, and profound." * Say reaffirmed most of the important positions of Smith. He remarked of Smith that "the latter had furnished us, also, with the true method of detecting errors ; he has applied to political economy the new method of scientific investigation, namely, of not looking for principles abstractedly, but by ascending from facts the most constantly observed to the general laws which govern them. As every fact may be said to have a particular cause, it is in the spirit of system to determine the cause ; it is in the spirit of analysis, to be solicitous to know *why* a particular cause has produced this effect, in order to be satisfied that it could not have been produced by any other cause." He reaffirmed the true theory of interest, and remarked that "it was wrapped in utter obscurity until Hume and Smith dispelled the vapor."† He preferred indirect to direct taxation, as being more convenient in practice, but at the same time declared that "taxation was a violation of property, and, when not intended as an engine of national depression and misery, must be proved indispensable to the existence of social order." He explained the benefits of a rapid circulation to production and exchange, but he did not observe its effect on the value of money. He did not perceive that the rapidity with which money circulates was as important a quantity in affecting the value of money as is the velocity of motion in affecting the momentum of a solid body. He originated the important principle that there cannot be a general glut of commodities :

"But it may be asked, if this be so, how does it happen that there is at times so great a glut of commodities in the market, and so much difficulty in finding a vent for them ? Why can not one of these superabundant commodities be exchanged for another ? I answer that the glut of a particular commodity arises from its having outrun the total demand for it in one of two ways : either because it has been produced in excessive abundance, or

* Preface *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation*.

† Book II, chap. viii.

because the produce of other commodities has fallen short. It is because the production of some commodities has declined that other commodities are superabundant. To use a hackneyed phrase, people have bought less because they have made less profit; and they have made less profit for one of two causes: either they have found difficulties in the employment of their productive means, or these means have themselves been deficient."*

This principle has a forcible application in the present condition of the United States, when the cry of over-production is being raised. The ideal condition of prosperity is that where circulating capital is being rapidly produced and exchanged, and the excess (only the excess) converted into fixed capital. The difficulty is that there is deficient production of some commodities, and unequal distribution of all commodities. There are thousands suffering from want of these very commodities of which there is an alleged over-production. There has been excessive unproductive consumption of foreign commodities; excessive conversion of circulating capital into fixed capital; and excessive taxation on the heels of a devastating war has gathered up circulating capital from all parts of the country, and poured it into the loan market in exchange for purchased bonds, whence it has been taken and sunk in fixed capital.†

He inveighed against public extravagance:

"There is more criminality in public than in private extravagance and profusion; inasmuch as the individual squanders only what belongs to him; but the government has nothing of its own to squander, being, in fact, a mere trustee of the public treasure."‡

He also denounced the abuse of public credit:

"Public credit affords such facilities to public prodigality, that many political writers have regarded it as fatal to national prosperity."§

On the subject of money he reaffirmed Smith's position:

"The agent of circulation, whether in the form of specie or paper, can never exceed in amount the total utility invested in it."§ "A money of large, is not worth more than a money of small volume; neither is a money of small of less value than one of large volume."¶

* Book I, chap. xv.

† "Taxation pushed to the extreme has the lamentable effect of impoverishing the individual without enriching the State."—Book III, chap. viii.

‡ Book III, chap. vi. § Book III, chap. ix. § Book I, chap. xxii.

¶ Book I, chap. xvii.

That is to say, if the amount invested in the instrument of circulation in the United States is limited by the law of international trade to \$200,000,000 of gold coin, then seven hundred millions of inconvertible legal tender notes are not worth more than \$200,000,000 of gold coin. If two hundred millions of paper notes be issued, they will be worth par, if made legal tender, although inconvertible at the public treasury. If \$700,000,000 paper units are in circulation, forced circulation, they are convertible by natural law* into \$200,000,000 gold coin only, or at the rate of $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 1.

On the subject of paper money M. Say was more satisfactory than Smith. He justified the issue of irredeemable money in gigantic civil or foreign wars, and briefly noticed Law's operations, and the *assignats* issued by the revolutionary government in France. On the subject of international trade he entertained the same views as Smith. He exposed the absurdity of the so-called balance of trade theory, and gave an accurate and complete analysis of the subject. It may be added here that Say was the friend and correspondent of Thomas Jefferson, who was the ablest American statesman upon this great subject. Jefferson had studied *The Wealth of Nations*, and had revised a translation of Destutt Tracy's work on political economy.

The *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation* and other works by Ricardo enriched the literature of political economy by the most complete analysis of the law of distribution of precious metals throughout the commercial world up to that time. "It is evident," he says, "that a depreciation of the circulating medium is the necessary consequence of its redundancy; and that in the common state of the national currency this depreciation is counteracted by the exportation of the precious metals."† This truth is of great importance and is equally applicable to a metallic, a convertible or an inconvertible paper system. He remarked that "While a standard

* Supposing the rapidity of circulation in its normal or prosperous condition.

† *High Price of Bullion.*

is used, we are subject to only such a variation in the value of money as the standard itself is subject to.”* Or, in other words, so long as we use gold and silver as a standard, the currency can never be depreciated. There might be a universal fall in the value of silver and gold, but the currency could not be depreciated, because other nations use the same commodity as a standard, and we should not be placed at a disadvantage with them in trade. The currency would be uniform with that of the commercial world, and “the cause of uniformity is the cause of goodness.”† “If the trade in the precious metals were perfectly free,—if they were generally used in circulation, even with the expenses of transporting them, the exchange could never in any of them deviate from par more than by these expenses.”‡

It is remarkable that Ricardo should have failed to perceive the vital distinction between fixed and circulating capital, and the vast importance of this distinction in political economy. ¶ He erroneously affirmed that a tax on necessities would fall wholly upon the profits of the employer.§ And his theory of rent is a remarkable instance of the fatality of a *priori* reasoning in political economy. He assumed that land of the highest degree of fertility was first put under cultivation and the necessity which followed of cultivating inferior land in order to supply food as the demand increased, caused rent on the first, inasmuch as the second quality of land must pay the expense of working, and, therefore, the first land would yield what the second land yielded, *plus* what its superior fertility gave. And his theory of rent is founded on this assumption. ¶ The fact is that inferior land is first cultivated, until sufficient capital is accumulated to pay for clearing and reclaiming the richer lands, and the net produce of the richer lands is partly

* *Proposals for an economical and secure currency.*

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Taxes on Wages.* ¶ *Principles of political Economy.* Sec. iv.—Value.

§ *Ibid. Taxes on Wages.* This might be the case if the standard of living were already so low, that any further reduction of wages would produce starvation. See also *Mill's Principles—Taxes on Necessaries.*—

¶ *Principles of Political Economy.* Chap. ii.—Rent.

rent, that is, the price paid for the original and indestructible powers of the soil, and partly interest and profit on the capital employed in reclaiming it. It is unfortunate that Ricardo's works are marred by these few defects, and we only allude to them here to illustrate the danger of departing from the *a posteriori* method of reasoning in political economy.

The *Principles of Political Economy* by John Stuart Mill may be considered as substantially completing the structure of this science. The remarkable intellectual discipline to which Mr. Mill was subjected by his father, the latter eminent as a political economist, developed capacity in the pupil to deal with this difficult subject. The elder Mill, it is well-known, was the intimate friend and associate of Ricardo, and political economy was no doubt frequently under consideration between them; possibly, the bond of sympathy. This intimacy, doubtless, accounts for the partiality shown by J. S. Mill towards Ricardo. The work of J. S. Mill, to which we refer, next to *The Wealth of Nations* is the best in the language. As the condition of the science had been advanced in the eighty or ninety years intervening between the two works, Mill's production is consequently more erudite, although in many respects that of Smith stands unrivalled. As a work of genius, *The Wealth of Nations* is unapproachable, and is as immortal as the language in which it is written.

Mill drew a sharp distinction between fixed and circulating capital, as Adam Smith had done before him. In his view all increase of fixed capital, at the expense of circulating capital, was injurious to the interests of laborers, as indeed it is to society at large. But he affirmed that it was very unlikely to happen, which is true under a metallic currency, but which is not true when the currency of a nation is depreciated. In the latter case where the currency of a nation is depreciated, the depreciation prevents the production of circulating capital, because circulating capital cannot be produced so cheaply within such nation as in other countries where the currency is sound. Importation of foreign commodities is increased, exportation of domestic commodities is diminished, and thus excessive unproductive consumption of circulating capital is not

only caused, but the owners of circulating capital already existing convert it into fixed capital, because it cannot otherwise yield profits in industry, and because by conversion into fixed capital, that is to say, houses, railways, etc., they are not subjected to foreign competition, for the reason that houses and railways cannot be imported. This is what has been going on in the United States to a very great excess during the past ten years under the influence of a depreciated currency. And the process has only ceased because there is no more circulating capital available. And not only this, but the consumption of circulating capital is still going on in excess of production, as the increasing business failures show, and the field for the circulation of paper money is gradually narrowing, as indicated by the continual depression of prices, (that is to say, the rapidity of the circulation is declining); and the rate of interest is hardening,* notwithstanding the comparatively large amount of gold in the banks. An increase of the circulation must therefore take place, thus temporarily effecting a redistribution of circulating capital, until its further consumption, together with the power of interest and taxation, effects the concentration of the remaining capital again, when a fresh issue of paper money must take place in order to again effect a redistribution. This is the order of sequence in which the law of paper money, when the currency is depreciated, necessitates fresh issues from time to time, until, by some Cæsarean method, the whole paper money is discarded, or until the price of bullion (gold) is regulated in conformity to the volume of paper, and the specie limit of our circulation, which is imposed upon us by the law of distribution of precious metals throughout the world.†

Mr. Mill remarks that "If the sinking or fixing of capital in machinery or useful works, were ever to proceed at such a pace as to impair materially the funds for the maintenance of labor,

* Jan. 2, 1877.

† An inconvertible paper currency, regulated by the price of bullion, would conform exactly in all its variations, to a convertible one. *Mill's Principles*. Book III, chap. xiii.

it would be incumbent on legislators to take measures for moderating its rapidity.”*

On the subject of rent Mill is rather brief, and criticises Ricardo with partiality, without adding anything new to a subject already exhausted. On the subject of value he comments upon Adam Smith's distinction of value in use and value in exchange, discussing it briefly and hypercritically. He remarks, what is obvious enough, “That there can be a general rise of prices, but not a general rise of values, value being a relative term. That the money prices of all things should rise or fall, provided they all rise or fall equally, is, in itself, and apart from existing contracts, of no consequence.” This is theoretically true, but practically impossible. Money prices do not rise or fall equally, and this important fact is Hume's original contribution to political economy.

Mill devotes a chapter to a summary of the theory of values: *First*, Value is a relative term. *Second*, The temporary or market value of a thing depends on demand and supply. *Third*, Things have a natural value, about which their market value oscillates. *Fourth*, The natural value of some things is scarcity value; in others, cost value. *Fifth*, Those things are at scarcity value the supply of which cannot be increased at all, or sufficiently. *Sixth*, Monopoly value means a scarcity value. *Seventh*, Cost value is the value of any article the supply of which can be increased indefinitely.† He then goes on to an analysis of the cost of production, which is more elaborate than useful. The cost of production of anything is the extent of the sacrifice made in producing it. On the subject of money, Mill is, perhaps, more satisfactory than any of his predecessors:

“The value of money is,” he says, “inversely as its quantity multiplied by what is called the rapidity of circulation. * * * Rapidity of circulation being a phrase so ill-adapted to express the only thing which is of any importance to express by it, and having a tendency to confuse the subject by suggesting a meaning extremely different from the one intended, it would

* This completely justifies the limitation by law of the rate of interest on mortgages upon fixed capital.

† Book III, chap. vi.

be a good thing if the phrase could be got rid of, and another substituted, more directly significant of the idea meant to be conveyed. * * * Until an appropriate term can be devised, we must be content, when ambiguity is to be apprehended, to express the idea by the circumlocution which alone conveys it adequately, namely, the average number of purchases made by each piece in order to effect a given pecuniary amount of transactions." He had previously said: "If each piece of money changes hands on an average ten times while goods are sold to the value of a million sterling, it is evident that the money required to circulate those goods is £100,000."*

The elder Mill† had said substantially the same thing, and, as a mathematical proposition, it is absolutely true. But, nevertheless, the explanation is altogether unsatisfactory, while, at the same time, it appears to be the best that has been offered. Now, the importance of a clear understanding of the meaning of "rapid circulation," as an element in determining the value of money, is too great to allow us to leave the matter involved in such obscurity. We think it would be clearer to say that rapidity of circulation means the number of times a given quantity of goods changes hands while being distributed from the importer or producer to the last consumer,‡ taken together with the rapidity with which consumption follows production: that this again depends upon the extent of the division of labor, and the increase of producing and consuming power arising from the increase of wages, profits and rent. But, in order to make the matter clearer, let us illustrate by example: Suppose an importer of ten thousand chests of tea should undertake to retail that quantity of tea by the pound; manifestly, money would only change hands once in distributing the tea for consumption, and it would be a work of considerable time; there would be no division of labor. But if the importer sold the whole invoice to a jobber, and the jobber distributed to wholesale dealers, and the wholesale

* Book III, chap. viii.

† *Elements of Political Economy*, chap. iii, sec. viii.

‡ A row of ten men passing bricks to each other will move more bricks in a given time than the same number of men taking them from one place to the other; there is more loss of time as well as manual dexterity in the latter case.

dealers to the retailers, and the retailers to the consumers, the tea would pass into consumption more rapidly at a greater price per pound, in order to pay the distributors for their labor and profit on capital employed ; the importer would turn his capital at once, and soon have another invoice on the market to be disposed of in like manner, possibly before the jobber had disposed of his last package. This condition of business could only exist where the community was prosperous, where the wages or means of the consumers were so abundant that they could pay a good price, so that the importer, jobber, wholesale and retail dealers would be fully occupied each in his particular part of the business, at a sure profit. In this state of things the division of labor is in its greatest perfection, the circulation rapid, and prices high, because the momentum of a given quantity of money is greater, as it has moved substantially more tea, having changed hands four times instead of once. But if, in consequence of a depreciated currency, imports are excessive, production is retarded, the wages of labor decline, the consuming power of labor is seriously diminished, which not only affects the quantity consumed but the price paid by the consumer ; and if, by reason of excessive and unequal taxation, the house rent of the consumer of tea is advanced, the case is aggravated, and the consuming power of labor is still further impaired and a change takes place in the order of consumption.* Less wages are paid ; the price of tea declines, till, finally, there is not sufficient profit to divide between the importer, jobber, wholesale and retail dealers, and the jobber begins to import for himself. As the prosperity of the nation continues to decline, the wholesale dealer begins to import for himself, and so on, till finally the retailer will perhaps import for himself, or the importer turns retailer, or the auctioneer steps into the arena. Thus the division of labor is impaired, and the former distributors of tea—if tea it is—are driven to speculation in stocks or to make disastrous investments in railways, buildings or lands, or to invest in government bonds and become consumers, engaging in little industry

* *Vide* on this subject Lauderdale.

beyond that required to detach coupons from interest-bearing bonds. This is the existing condition of things in the United States.

Other nations feel the effect of this anomalous condition of trade, and this is the reason of the prevailing depression abroad. The mutual dependence of nations constituting "The Great Mercantile Republic," to use Adam Smith's phrase, is such that when one suffers from a violation of political economy, all suffer.

Mr. Mill discusses the question of a double standard very briefly. He says: "It appears, therefore, that the value of money is liable to more frequent fluctuations when both metals are a legal tender at a fixed valuation, than when the exclusive standard of the currency is either gold or silver."* This is precisely the contrary of what does actually happen. He says that with a double standard, if one metal should show a tendency to decline in value, debtors would take advantage of that decline, or tendency to decline, and pay in that metal. This is quite true, and this very fact would create a demand for that metal which would in itself prevent the decline; and at the same time it would lessen the demand for the metal that was tending to advance in value and prevent such advance. It did not occur to Mr. Mill that the liberty to pay in either metal is the very principle which preserves uniformity of value. He, unfortunately, commits the fallacy of *a priori* reasoning on this question, and, as is invariably the case, falls into error. The principle involved in the question appears to be this: there is no perfect standard of value. The ideal standard of value is something that represents the average value of all commodities; this being unattainable, a system which represents the average value of the two least changeable commodities would be the next best thing. And if there were still another metal otherwise fitted for the purpose, then a triple standard would be better than a double standard. Perhaps four-fifths of the population of the earth use a silver standard, and if "the cause of uniformity in the

* Book III, chap. x.

medium of circulation is the cause of goodness," * self-interest remits us to the double standard system. Mr. Mill did not, because he could not, adduce any instance from actual experience in support of his position. Could he have done so, his argument would have been scientific. But the most conspicuous instance of the double standard system is overwhelming proof of its goodness. Mill's discussion of credit as a substitute for money, and of the influence of credit on prices is very full, instructive, and with one exception satisfactory; the exception noted will be observed in "*Principles*," where it will be seen that our author does not understand the principle laid down by Adam Smith and already alluded to.†

The chapter upon inconvertible paper money is very instructive, but if our author had had the advantage of observing the phenomena of paper money as it has been disclosed in the United States during the past fifteen years, he would, we believe, have made some modification of his views; while, at the same time, he would have had the painful satisfaction of witnessing the confirmation of the general law of paper money as it had been unfolded by his predecessors and reaffirmed by himself. Mill's proposition that an inconvertible paper currency, regulated by the price of bullion, would conform in all its variations to a convertible one, is thoroughly sound. That is to say, if the minimum of our circulation be \$200,000,000, and \$700,000,000 paper monetary units are put into circulation, then the price of bullion should be regulated by law so that $3\frac{1}{2}$ of paper shall be exchangeable for 1 of gold: then the irredeemable currency would conform in all its variations to a redeemable one; gold coin would flow indifferently in the channel of circulation in this ratio, side by side with paper; the specie standard of the nation would be preserved, and the prosperity of the people so far assured. But he warns against "the possibility of fraudulent tampering with the price of bullion for the sake of acting on the currency." He did not imagine that a Government could—not fraudulently, but openly—tamper with the price of bullion for the

* Ricardo. *Ut supra*, p. 260.† *Ut supra*, p. 251.

sake of acting on the currency. It has been reserved for the people of the United States to see their Minister of Finance

"Dress'd in a little brief authority,
Most ignorant of what he's most assured,
His glassy essence—like an angry ape,
Play such fantastic tricks before high Heaven,
As make the angels weep."

Mr. Mill exposes the absurdity of the idea that a currency (circulation) cannot be issued in excess so long as it rests upon a foundation of real property; "for if the property cannot be claimed in exchange for the notes, it is difficult to divine in what manner its mere existence can serve to uphold their value." * Hence the absurdity of what Ricardo called an abstract currency, or a currency without any specific standard; hence the absurdity, too, of the expression of "coining land into money," or of attempting to secure the redemption of bank notes by depositing bonds. It would be somewhat ludicrous for a note holder to demand the redemption of a one dollar note in land, or bonds. The principle herein involved we should formulate thus:—Money being *circulating* capital, the redemption of notes payable in coin on demand cannot be secured by a pledge of *fixed* capital. The obvious truth of this proposition excites surprise that Ricardo should fail to see the vital importance of the distinction between fixed and circulating capital. Mill speaks of the fallacy of the idea that the issue of inconvertible currency quickens industry, and unjustly imputes the origin of the idea to Hume, who expressly remarks that he entertained "a doubt concerning the benefit of banks and paper credit, which are so generally esteemed advantageous to every nation." †

Hume said in substance this: that gold and silver being real wealth, it stimulated industry and prosperity while it was finding its way into circulation; that while passing into circulation, more or less of it stuck to the fingers, if we may so speak, of the people, on its way; and if it could not be retained in circulation it could be exchanged for

* Book III, chap. xiii.

† *Essay on Money.*

commodities. The acquisition of gold and silver is as substantial a gain to a community, when we consider these metals merchandise, as the acquisition of other commodities the use of which contribute to the comfort or industrial activity of man. Mill also enlarges upon and elucidates the idea of the impossibility of a general glut of commodities, which principle originated with M. Say. On international trade, international values, foreign exchanges, distribution of the precious metals throughout the commercial world, influence of currency on foreign trade, and cognate subjects, Mr. Mill is peculiarly felicitous, departing in no essential point from the principles laid down by his eminent predecessors already reviewed. He formulated the law of international trade thus:—"The equation of international demand is the law of international trade." We might suggest a more intelligible formula, namely: The equation of the average of international metallic prices is the law of international trade, anything in the tariff laws of any nation to the contrary notwithstanding.* He advanced one principle in the analysis of the law of international trade which had escaped the observation of his predecessors, and which is of great importance to the United States in the present crisis:

"Before closing this discussion," he says, "it is fitting to point out in what manner and degree the preceding conclusions are affected by the existence of international payments not originating in commerce and for which no equivalent either in money or commodities is expected or received; such as a tribute, or remittances of rent to absentee landlords or of interest to

* When the distribution of precious metals throughout the commercial world is perfect, that is to say, when average metallic prices throughout the commercial world are equal, then international trade settles to a trade of barter, and there is no transmission of money either way: this condition is, however, purely ideal, and this observation is made only for the purpose of illustrating the law of international trade. Manifestly, any nation producing the precious metals must inevitably export the same, unless they are consumed in the arts, or hoarded out of circulation where they cannot affect prices; for if they are put into circulation as money, they affect metallic prices by raising them above the international average, and they must then flow out till the international average of metallic prices is re-established within this particular nation.

foreign creditors, or a government expenditure abroad, such as England incurs in the management of some of her colonial dependencies."*

For instance, the United States have now a large interest account abroad which did not exist previous to our late civil war. What is the effect of this? Mr. Mill answers the question thus:

"If, before the country became liable to the annual payment, foreign commerce was in its natural state of equilibrium, it will now be necessary for the purpose of effecting the remittance, that foreign countries should be induced to take a greater quantity of exports than before: which can only be done by offering those exports on cheaper terms, or in other words, by paying dearer for foreign commodities. The international values will so adjust themselves that either by greater exports or smaller imports, or both, the requisite excess on the side of exports will be brought about; and this excess will become the permanent state."†

Now, the application of this principle is as follows: the equation of international demand before the war required an annual payment of coin and bullion of nearly \$50,000,000; other things being equal, the annual payment of coin or bullion now required would be \$50,000,000 *plus* the interest account, say \$100,000,000. But if we have not the coin or bullion necessary to effect this payment, what then? Simply this: Coin must flow out to a degree sufficient to lower average metallic prices within the country, so that by importing less commodities, and exporting more commodities we can make settlement in that way; the result of which is that \$200,000,000 coin being the limit of our circulation before the war, it must, other things being equal, be somewhat less now.

On the subject of interest Mill simply reaffirmed what had been previously settled by his predecessors. His chapter on the regulation of a convertible currency is, perhaps, the most important of all. He commences by commenting upon the fact that certain theorists claim:

"That banks of issue universally, or the Bank of England in particular, have a power of throwing their notes in circulation, and thereby raising prices arbitrarily; that this power is only limited by the degree of moderation with which they think fit to exercise it; that when they increase their issues beyond the usual amount, the rise of prices, thus produced, generates a

* Book III, chap. xxi, sec. iv.

† Book III, chap. xxii.

spirit of speculation in commodities, which carries prices still higher, and ultimately causes a reaction and recoil amounting in extreme cases to a commercial crisis; and every such crisis which have occurred in this country within mercantile memory, has been either originally produced by this cause, or greatly aggravated by it. And he quotes Tooke in refutation of this theory to the effect that 'In point of fact, and historically, as far as my researches have gone, in every signal instance of a rise or fall of prices, the rise or fall has preceded, and therefore could not be the effect of, an enlargement or contraction of the bank circulation.'"

This is quite in accordance with the principle enunciated by Adam Smith which we observed Mr. Mill did not understand, and which it now appears Mr. Tooke did not comprehend. Mr. Tooke's observations were directed to wholesale market prices, and upon Smith's principle their rise must necessarily follow increase of deposits and precede increase of circulation, and the rise of retail prices follow the enlargement of circulation. Retail prices could not be advanced in order to meet the advance in wholesale prices, unless the volume of the circulation or the rapidity of the circulation were increased. At the commencement of the inflation probably an increase of both the volume and rapidity of the circulation is essential to a general increase of retail prices. Col. Robert Torrens, who distinguished himself in defending the celebrated Act of Sir Robert Peel, takes exception to the statement of Tooke and Fullarton, that the rise of prices precedes increase of circulation. The difficulty appears to be that none of the above mentioned authors makes a distinction between wholesale and retail prices. When the currency depends upon the movements of the banks of issue and discount, Tooke and Fullarton are right, and Torrens, wrong. When government issues are put into forced circulation, Torrens is right, and Tooke and Fullarton, wrong. Tooke remarked that he had heard an observation which he thought had some foundation in truth, that the effect of an increased circulation is first perceived in an advance of the funds, and other securities bearing interest, before they can be traced to the prices of commodities.* This remark is applicable to bank deposits, but not to bank circu-

* *Considerations on the State of the Currency.* 2d Ed., pp. 23-24.

lation : it may also be applicable to a forced circulation of bills of credit.

Col. Torrens has most ably defended that great triumph of legislation,* which has been and will continue to be assailed by those who do not understand either the Act itself or the principles upon which it is founded. He thus clearly and accurately states the principles in conformity with which the Act of 1844 is framed.

"*First*.—That the amount of a strictly convertible currency, which it is practicable to maintain, is determined, not by legislative enactments or by banking regulations, but by the natural law of equilibrium by which the precious metals are distributed throughout the commercial countries of the world.

"*Second*.—That when, from any temporary cause, the amount of a mixed currency of coin and convertible notes exceeds the amount determined by the law of equilibrium, the level is restored by the return of a portion of the note circulation upon the issuer in exchange for specie.

"*Third*.—That when from any temporary cause the amount of a mixed currency of coin and convertible paper falls short of the amount determined by the law of equilibrium, the ordinary level is restored by an influx of the precious metals. From these principles it follows, as a necessary corollary, that when that portion of the note circulation which may be issued upon securities, is fixed below the amount to which, under the law of equilibrium, the currency must conform, that portion of the bank note circulation will not be returned upon the issuer in exchange for treasure ; and that, except in cases of drain from domestic panic, there will always be retained in the coffers of the issuing body, a reserve of gold equal to the difference between the fixed amount of the circulation unrepresented by bullion, and the actual amount determined by the law of equilibrium." And he goes on to say : "Such being the principles upon which the Act was founded, it became incumbent upon those who were concerned in forming it, to ascertain, by a careful reference to past experience the minimum amount below which, in recent times, the circulation of the Bank of England had never been reduced."

Col. Torrens then shows that by the report of the Select Committee upon Banks of Issue (1840 App. 12) the bank notes in circulation in December, 1839, (Bank Post Bills not included) was £14,732,000 ; the minimum reserve of notes kept by the Bank against deposits being £2,000,000 additional ; and putting the two sums together we have £16,732,000. Therefore, £14,000,-

* *Peel's Act, explained and defended.*

000 are permitted under the Act as being the minimum of notes that would remain in circulation without being returned upon the Bank for specie, and therefore it was safe beyond contingency to issue £14,000,000 on the security of Government stock. "The correctness of these views have been fully borne out by experience. Theory has been verified by fact."

"Not only has the Act of 1844 secured the convertibility of the note circulation, but that the limitation of the issues of the Bank upon securities to £14,000,000, while imparting to the circulation a degree of steadiness greater than it before possessed, has had the effect of maintaining the circulation at a higher average level than that which was maintainable under the alternate expansions and contractions of the former law."

We have thus set forth at length the scientific principles which underlie the Act of 1844; and so long as British law can be enforced in the British kingdom, the Bank of England notes cannot become inconvertible. It is only when the consequences of bad management in the banking department of the Bank of England are being visited upon the community, that it becomes necessary to suspend the Act in order that inconvertible paper may be issued. We should say that the large joint stock banks of London ought to be obliged by law to maintain a reserve of *circulating capital* in their own vaults, not in the form of cotton, or corn, because these may not always be marketable, but in the form of sovereigns which are always marketable. These banks would then be less disposed to underbid the Bank of England in the discount market. It is a fact that the Bank of England is underbid in the discount market which makes it onerous for her to maintain a sufficient reserve of bullion to sustain herself and all the banks that lean upon her. And the rate of interest is not advanced sufficiently or in time to prevent the contagion of fear from seizing the community, which, when it has taken place, makes it necessary to suspend the Act of 1844, thus giving the *power* to issue inconvertible notes.

A more conservative action has been noticed by the Bank of England since the payment of the French indemnity to Germany, and since the substitution of gold for silver coinage

by Germany. It is quite true that the Suez Canal route to Asia renders the time much shorter in which circulating capital in the form of merchandise is kept afloat. That is to say, the use of this route, instead of the Cape route, quickens the rapidity of the circulation; which makes it safer to economize in the amount of cash reserve, than was otherwise possible. The Transatlantic and India cables act powerfully in the same direction. It is to be hoped that the British people will resist every attempted invasion of the principles underlying the Act of 1844, and that the Act itself will survive as a monument to commemorate the fame of the great statesman by whose name it is commonly known.

Mr. Mill rests his discussion of taxation upon the four celebrated maxims laid down by Adam Smith. He points out what he considers to be an error of Adam Smith, which had previously attracted the attention of Ricardo, with reference to a tax on wages; he does not favor an income tax, neither does he strenuously urge his not very forcible objections thereto; he thinks an income tax should be reserved as an extraordinary resource in a great national emergency. If taxation were in other respects equal, there is much wisdom in this opinion. Taxes on necessities, he says, either lower the condition of the laboring class, or fall on the profits of the employers. They lower the condition of the laboring class, unless it has already sunk so low that increase in population is checked. He compares direct and indirect taxes with great fairness, without committing himself exclusively to either, and he does this in a spirit of humanity. On the whole, this portion of his work is satisfactory. He does not favor the maintenance of high taxation for the purpose of reducing a public debt. On the subject of "protectionism" Mr. Mill takes an English rather than a scientific view, although he concedes the soundness of the doctrine on "principles of political economy" in the case of a young and rising nation. He does not notice the important difference between what Smith called the balance of consumption, and the so-called balance of trade; nor does he appear to have considered the favorable political consequences of a wisely extended division

of labor. He justly condemned and exposed the Mercantile System. He briefly discusses usury laws, and condemns them, but not, as appears to us, upon scientific grounds. We should object to usury laws on the ground that, money being circulating capital, there should be no restriction on short time loans of money upon the security of other circulating capital, namely merchandise, or, what is the same thing, commercial paper. We think that a law of Congress exempting from the operation of the usury laws of any State all loans upon the security of circulating capital, running not longer than three months, would be most desirable. Such a statute would be quite within the scope of the Constitution, as it would be an exercise of the power to regulate commerce between the States. On loans of money (circulating capital) upon the security of fixed capital, that is to say, upon the security of land, buildings, machinery, ships, and whatever may come into the category of fixed capital, the rate of interest should be limited by law, so that evasions could not take place by assignment or otherwise.

From the foregoing examination of our authors, it will be seen that the science of political economy does not rest upon the unstable foundation of metaphysical inquiry, in which everything is unsettled, and little positively known; that it deals with the commercial laws of human society, as chemistry deals with the physical laws of matter; that, in the whole realm of science, it is preëminently humane; for "economic ignorance, when it has conceived, brings forth socialism, and socialism breeds despotism, and despotism, when it is finished, issues in war, misery, and ruin."* We need no more forcible illustration of the wisdom of Professor Cairnes' remarks than that of the French Revolution, so familiar to all readers of history. †

That the present deplorable condition of the industry of the United States is largely due to the most extraordinary, and, considering the present advanced stage of science, inexcusable violations of the laws of political economy, there is no

* J. E. Cairnes' *Essay on Political Economy and Laissez-faire*.

† *Vide* De Tocqueville's *Old Régime*, etc.

doubt. The dilemma in which the nation is involved is this:

1. We have about seven hundred millions of paper money in circulation, which are not convertible into metallic monetary units of the present standard. Or, to be exact, the tables below, furnished us by the Hon. Comptroller of the Currency, shows the outstanding circulation, December 30, 1876, of the national bank notes to be as follows:

	<i>Number.</i>	<i>Amount.</i>
\$1 ^a	3,167,095.....	\$3,167,095 00
2 ^a	940,621.....	1,881,242 00
5 ^a	19,392,682.....	96,963,410 00
10 ^a	9,614,632.....	96,146,320 00
20 ^a	3,220,638.....	64,412,760 00
50 ^a	465,351.....	23,267,550 00
100 ^a	309,141.....	30,914,100 00
500 ^a	2,504.....	1,252,000 00
1,000 ^a	343.....	343,000 00
Added for fragments, etc.....		9,277 50
Outstanding.....		<u>\$318,356,754 50</u>

And the amount of the legal tender notes outstanding January, 1, 1877, to be as follows:

1 ^a	\$29,011,141 70
2 ^a	28,875,659 80
5 ^a	49,236,496 50
10 ^a	67,486,213 00
20 ^a	66,023,893 00
50 ^a	33,469,830 00
100 ^a	26,444,850 00
500 ^a	32,025,500 00
1,000 ^a	34,481,500 00
	<u>\$367,055,084</u>
Deduct for unknown denominations destroyed in Chicago fire.....	1,000,000
Net outstanding.....	<u>\$366,055,084</u>

2. These monetary units cannot be withdrawn from circulation until the price of gold is advanced to such a point that it will flow in the channel of circulation side by side with the paper that remains at a certain fixed ratio.

3. They cannot remain as they are, at the low *agio* which

has prevailed since 1864, without being augmented from time to time by fresh issues, otherwise the people will starve.

Now, according to the principles laid down by Adam Smith, we have seen that the currency of a nation consists of coin and notes and cheques; that since wholesale prices cannot exceed retail prices, the momentum of cheques must not only be no greater but must be somewhat less than the momentum of the coin and notes, because retail prices exceed wholesale prices; otherwise the retail dealers would make no profit. And we have already shown that average wholesale prices of commodities as estimated in the metallic money of the commercial world cannot permanently exceed the average wholesale metallic prices throughout the commercial world; that when average wholesale metallic prices within the nation do exceed average wholesale metallic prices throughout the commercial world, excessive importation of commodities results as the effort of the natural law of international trade to restore the equilibrium; that this effort of the natural law of international trade is unremitting so long as the equilibrium is disturbed, and that under these circumstances excessive importation of commodities will go on, until one of two things happens, namely; either the metallic equivalent of the circulation must be reduced, by exportation of coin, if the circulation consist of coin and convertible notes; or by a rise in the price of coin or bullion, if the circulation consist of irredeemable paper money, until the equation of average metallic prices is established; or, the rapidity of the circulation must decline, until the equation of average metallic prices is reached. And we have also shown that the decline of the rapidity of the circulation means national bankruptcy, a condition to which the United States are being reduced. The destruction of the mercantile marine which is going on; the decline in value of railway property; the fall of the value of land and buildings; the destruction of the profits of business;* the decline in

* Though there were no distress in any particular branch—though agriculture, manufactures and commerce were carried to a greater extent than they have ever been carried before—though a nation have numerous, powerful, and well appointed armies and fleets, and the style of living among the

the wages of labor, and the increasing number of unemployed; the large and increasing number of business failures; the failures of savings banks, and life insurance companies, which must inevitably go on until all the circulating capital is consumed; all these facts are mournful evidence of the decline in the rapidity of the circulation; and it is inevitable until the equilibrium of metallic prices throughout the commercial world is established.

And we have shown, also, that the decline in the rapidity of the circulation must necessarily be accompanied by fresh issues of paper money from time to time.

The following list of failures in the United States since 1863, kindly furnished us by Messrs. Dun, Barlow & Co., of New York, is peculiarly significant in this connection :

YEAR.	NUMBER.	AMOUNT.
1863.	495.	\$7,899,000
1864.	520.	8,579,000
1865.	530.	17,625,000
1866.	1,505.	53,783,000
1867.	2,780.	96,666,000
1868.	2,608.	63,964,000
1869.	2,799.	75,054,054
1870.	3,546.	88,242,000
1871.	2,915.	85,252,900
1872.	4,069.	121,056,000
1873.	5,183.	228,499,000
1874.	5,830.	155,239,000
1875.	7,740.	201,000,000
1876.	9,092.	191,113,840

We therefore see that the alternative of universal ruin, possibly of civil war, is to reduce the metallic equivalent of

higher classes be more than ordinarily sumptuous—still, if the rate of profit have become comparatively low, we may pretty confidently affirm, that the condition of such nation, how prosperous soever in appearance, is bad and unsound at the bottom; that the plague of poverty is secretly creeping on the mass of the citizens; that the foundations of her greatness have been shaken; and that her decline may be anticipated, unless measures be devised for relieving the pressure on her national resources, by adding to the productiveness of industry, and, consequently, to the rate of profit.—*McCulloch's Principles of Political Economy*, p. 110.

our circulation to the point at which, with a rapid circulation, it will represent the amount which is allotted to us by the law of distribution of precious metals throughout the commercial world.

The object of our inquiry is, in the first place, 'to ascertain by reference to past experience, what the metallic value of the limit of circulation was at the time the nation departed from the metallic standard and launched forth upon the sea of irredeemable paper money. It may be desirable at this point to emphasize the fact that experimental knowledge only is of value in this investigation, and the experimental knowledge must be confined to our own case. It must not be assumed that because England or France may have so much circulation, we can have so much. We must obey the law of our own body. We herewith present in order the actual figures :

Year. January.	Number of banks.	Circulation.	Deposits.	Net specie movement export, fiscal year ending June 30.
1854,	1,298	\$204,689,207	\$188,188,744	\$34,478,272
1855,	1,307	186,952,223	190,400,342	52,587,531
1856,	1,398	195,747,950	212,705,662	41,537,852
1857,	1,416	214,778,822	230,351,352	56,675,123
1858,	1,422	155,208,344	185,932,049	33,358,651
1859,	1,476	193,306,818	259,568,278	57,517,708
1860,	1,562	207,102,477	253,802,129	57,996,104
1861,	1,601	202,005,767	257,229,562	
		<u>\$1,559,791,608</u>	<u>\$1,778,178,119</u>	
Average,		\$194,973,951	\$222,272,265	

The total population in 1850, 23,191,876 ; 1860, 31,445,080.* Decennial increase, 1850, 35.87 per cent ; 1860, 30.68 per cent. These figures are exceedingly instructive as verifying important laws of economic science.

It appears that the circulation averaged less than two hun-

* *National Almanac* 1867. We take the period from 1854 to 1861, because at the commencement the social phenomena had recovered steadiness from the disturbance caused by the irruption of gold from California, and at the close it had not yet felt the disturbance of the war.

dred millions for the eight years; and we observe here that the circulation was full to overflowing because we exported specie, more than we imported, to the yearly average of nearly \$50,000,000. And it must be also observed that the banks issued notes of the denomination of one, two, three and five dollars, so that, as we have said, the circulation was full and overflowing.*

It also appears that the average circulation for the first four years was \$200,542,050, against \$189,405,851, for the latter period. These facts verify this important principle of political economy, namely, that under a metallic standard, the proportion borne by money to commerce is constantly diminishing, because the rapidity of the circulation is constantly increasing. While under a depreciated currency of irredeemable paper money these phenomena are reversed, and the volume of circulation is increasing, while the rapidity of the circulation is declining. It must be observed that the actual decline in the rapidity of the circulation under a depreciated currency *may* be going on at the same time with its *potential* increase. We mean by this that more railways may be building, more telegraph lines in course of operation, and more economies in the use of money instituted, while the rapidity of the circulation is actually declining. It will be observed that we make no account of the fractional currency, because it is an unknown, normal, and self-regulating quantity, and because it is not concerned in the discussion, since retail prices are limited by the momentum of the monetary units. The fractional circulation did not, probably, exceed five per centum of the total circulation. It will also be observed that we do not consider that there were any metallic monetary units in actual circulation to an extent that requires any allowance therefor. It is a well established law of political economy that the inferior medium drives out of circulation the superior medium; and we have already shown that the circulation was crowded with small notes. We do not pretend to say that gold coin may not occasionally have been

* See Webster's Works, Vol. III, p. 399.

passed in payment, or carried in the pocket, or put away against the possible contingencies of the future, or hoarded from purely selfish motives. We are keeping within the requirements of economic laws, and are bound to consider that gold coin formed no appreciable part of the permanent circulation. The competition of fifteen hundred banks of issue for the profits of circulation would not admit coin into the circulation.

We have thus shown that for the eight years immediately preceding January, 1861, the quantity of metallic money allotted to us by the law of distribution of the precious metals throughout the world, did not exceed, in round numbers, two hundred millions of coin of the present standard, or what is, for the purpose of this discussion, the same thing, of bank notes convertible into coin on demand. That is to say, the amount of capital invested in "the great wheel of circulation" did not exceed \$200,000,000 of the present standard of 25 $\frac{1}{16}$ grains each, making a gross total of about 895,833 pounds Troy weight, standard gold.* It also appears that this was a rather diminishing, at all events, not an increasing quantity.

It is important to consider therefore what, if anything, has taken place since January, 1861, to change this limit imposed upon us by the law of distribution of precious metal throughout the commercial world. Does the increase of population, or the increase of business operate to increase the limit? Upon principles of political economy, we must say, No! We have already seen that while the decennial increase of population in the decade 1850 to 1860 was 35.58 per cent. yet, notwithstanding, the circulation had diminished, if anything, and unless

* "England, in its actual state, requires, for the effectuation of its sales and purchases, an agent or medium equal in value, say to 1,284,000 pounds weight of gold; or, what is the same thing, to 1,200,000,000 pounds weight of sugar; or, what is the same thing, to 60,000,000 pounds sterling of paper, taking the Bank of England paper at 30,000,000 and the paper of the country banks at as much more. This is the reason why the 60,000,000 of paper, though destitute of intrinsic value, are, by the mere want of a medium of exchange, made equal in value to 1,284,000 pounds weight of gold, or 1,200,000,000 pounds weight of sugar."—M. Say, book I, chap. xxi, 1803.

the potential increase of the rapidity of the circulation has been less since 1861 than before that period, we must say again, No! But it is altogether likely that the potential increase of the rapidity of the circulation has been greater since 1861 than in any similar period previous. Railway and telegraph construction was never so extensive. Centralization of population, and the consequent economies in the substitution of credit for money have never been so palpable: and these are the criteria by which we are to judge. Does the abolishment of slavery operate to increase the limit? Clearly not. We are considering the instrument which circulates the products of the people, and unless they have increased more rapidly than they otherwise would, this fact cannot justify the expectation of increase of the limit. It is altogether probable that the effect of the abolishment of slavery is in the opposite direction, as it has most likely altered the distribution of the circulation, thus actually increasing the potential increase of the rapidity of the circulation.

After a careful survey of the field of possibilities, we are obliged to say that, upon principles of political economy, there is no possible increase of the limit of the circulation. On the other hand, we must remark that we have a large foreign interest account, the amount of which we shall not attempt to compute, especially as, apart from deductions due to defaults of interest and absence of dividends, it is constantly increasing. The effect of this foreign interest account has already been fully discussed and we shall not enter again into the question; it only needs to be said that it operates immediately, directly and powerfully to reduce the ante-war limit of circulation. If, then, we are limited by the natural law of international trade, and of the natural law of distribution of precious metals throughout the commercial world to a sum *less* than \$200,000,000 in coin or its equivalent in paper, it is a stupendous piece of folly to attempt to maintain \$700,000,000 of paper monetary units convertible each into coin of the present standard.

The question then arises, can the paper monetary units be gradually withdrawn from circulation until the entire volume

is reduced to less than \$200,000,000? We have remarked at the outset that political economy is an experimental science; that whatever human experience has shown to be true will always be true; whatever human experience has shown to be false will always be false; and upon well established principles of political economy, we repeat that the idea of withdrawing from circulation even a small portion of the paper money with which the country is flooded is stupendous folly.*

There are, nevertheless, those, who upon the purely, *a priori*, method of reasoning have been vexing the executive and legislative departments of the government, harrassing the the community, and occupying the columns of the press in trying to show that they have invented a method by which they can evade the inevitable course of nature. These theorists say that by offering a bond bearing a certain rate of interest, (it matters not whether four or forty per cent.,) and running for a considerable term of years, the holders of the paper monetary units will exchange them for bonds until the requisite reduction in the volume of the circulation is brought about. We believe this is a fair statement of the proposition, and the proposition itself is perfectly intelligible. The advocates of this scheme do not cite any precedent in support of their views, for there is no instance in history of such a scheme ever having been carried out; and upon principles of political economy this fact alone is sufficient to condemn it. Nor do they cite any of the standard authors in support of their proposition, because the standard authors, with the exception of Tooke, have nowhere discussed it even for the sake of exposing its palpable fallacy.

The nearest approach to anything of the kind was made by Ricardo, who at one time proposed that the Bank of England † should reduce its circulation in the manner usually adopted by banks, namely, by curtailing her discounts; but he afterwards retracted his words.‡ And the Court of Directors of

* Unless the market *agio* is increased to correspond with the real *agio*.

† During the restriction upon cash payments.

‡ This was contraction of bank circulation as distinguished from funding government paper money, operations essentially different and opposed to each other.

the Bank of England at a meeting held May 20, 1819, reported that

"When it is proposed that they shall effect this measure within a given period by regulating the market price of gold by a limitation of the amount of the issue of bank notes, with whatever distress such limitation may be attended to individuals or the community at large, they feel it their bounden and imperious duty to state their sentiments thus explicitly in the first instance of his Majesty's Ministers, on this subject, that a tacit consent and concurrence at this juncture may not, at some future period, be construed into a previous implied sanction on their part, of a system which they cannot but consider fraught with very great uncertainty and risk. * * * They cannot venture to advise an unrelenting continuance of pecuniary pressures upon the commercial world, of which it is impossible for them either to foresee or estimate the consequences."*

Mr. Tooke indeed noticed the theoretical idea of funding the circulation of the Bank of England—which, so far as we know, was never put into a distinct proposition—for the purpose of demolishing it, which he did in these words :

"If the Bank had offered its annuities for sale, with a view to contract its issues, the very first step towards that object would have counteracted itself. The extended issue produced the rise in price; a contraction would, of course, depress it."†

It was only by the total destruction, by accidental causes, of a large portion of the country bank notes, that the standard was violently raised, thus substantially vindicating Cobbett's view.

We have devoted more space to this branch of our inquiry than we otherwise would have done, had not the dogma of contraction or funding been the chief method devised by our finance ministers and writers, as a means of escape from the evils complained of. It illustrates the proverb that "a little knowledge is a dangerous thing." It is charitable to suppose that these theorists do not fully realize the consequences to which their method leads. Their zeal outruns their discretion in the service of a class interest. We desire to dispose of their fallacy by repeating that the amount of circulating capital invested in "the great wheel of circulation" in this country,

* *Vide Appendix A, McCulloch's Ed. of Ricardo's Works* ; also, *History of Bank of England*.

† *Considerations on the state of the Currency. Tooke. 2d Ed. p. 76.*

is, according to the average metallic prices throughout the commercial world, and in the normal condition of the rapidity of the circulation, something less than \$200,000,000 of coin of the present standard, and that at present "the great wheel of circulation" is composed of about \$700,000,000 paper monetary units, and that this paper cannot be taken out of "the great wheel of circulation," unless circulating capital, in the form of what the commercial world recognizes as money, that is to say, gold or silver, is immediately put in its place; that with \$700,000,000 paper and the agio at 10, the metallic equivalent of this paper is more than 600,000,000 of gold or silver coin; that, consequently, gold or silver coin cannot come in circulation when there is already in the circulation more than three times the quantity (or its equivalent) that is allotted to us by the law of distribution of precious metal throughout the commercial world; that, consequently, the price of coin and bullion must be advanced, by the government entering into the market as a purchaser, or in some other way, until the total paper in circulation shall represent in coin or bullion something less than \$200,000,000 of the present standard, and conversion established at the Treasury at this rate; that then the paper monetary units can be withdrawn gradually, say to the extent of our surplus bullion product, because metallic money will flow into the circulation as paper is taken out. This money, it seems to us, is the only scientific solution of the dilemma in which the nation is involved. Preliminary to entering or during the process of entering upon this adjustment, the national bank notes should be retired, and Bills of Credit put in their place; the National Bank Act repealed, and banks of discount and deposit organized under State laws without circulation, and, therefore, without the profit of circulation as in the case of the Bank of England.

There is much in our colonial experience which justifies the views herein advanced. The Colony of Massachusetts, for example, in 1749, voted, "that its public notes should be redeemed with the expected remittances from the Royal Exchequer. As the bills had depreciated, and were no longer in the hands of

the first holders, it was insisted, that to redeem them at their original value would impose a new tax on the first holders themselves; and therefore forty-five shillings of the old tenor, or eleven shillings and three pence of the new emission, were, with the approbation of the King in Council, redeemed by a Spanish milled dollar. Thus Massachusetts became the hard money Colony of the North."*

The experience of foreign countries is in the same direction. Take the case of Russia:

"After the restoration of peace, 1815, measures were taken by the government to bring the finances and currency into a normal condition, and *assignats* to the nominal amount of about 200 millions of roubles were bought up at the price of the day and burned; but it was not till 1834 that the latter object was accomplished by the return to a metallic (silver) currency, of which the silver rouble formed the unit—the legal relation of the existing paper currency to silver being at the same time fixed at the rate of 350 Kopecks of the former to 100 Kopecks of the latter,"† or $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 1.‡

In the case of Austria: "The State could no longer meet its obligations, and on the 15th of March, 1811, Count Wallis, the finance minister, struck eighty per cent. off the value of one thousand and sixty millions of bank paper, and reduced the interest on the whole of the State debts to one-half, payable in the new paper issue."§

We may also observe that Congress, after the Revolutionary War, sought to dispose of the Continental Currency by this method; but the issue was so large that its value was *nil*. And we may also state that France, unable to sustain or to withdraw it, endeavored to dispose of Law's "abstract currency" in this manner, by reducing its value one-half by seven successive reductions, but the currency was so excessive that its value was *nil*, and the notes ceased to circulate the day after the promulgation of the royal decree.§

This branch of our subject, however, is foreign to our original

* Bancroft's *History of U. S.* Vol. II, p. 50.

† The paper money of Russia was probably overvalued, and Russia has since been suffering from permanent depreciation of currency.

‡ *Commentaries on the productive forces of Russia.* M. L. De Tegoborski.

§ *History of Austria*, Coxé; Bohn's edition, Vol. IV, p. 47 of Introduction.

§ *Mississippi Scheme in France.* Professor Tucker.

design, which was rather to point out the nature and cause of the distress under which the United States are suffering so severely and indicate the proper, legitimate remedy. If we have exhibited, in doing so, less regard for the opinions of our contemporaries than the rules of literary courtesy require, we trust it will be attributed to a just zeal in a good cause, rather than to professional arrogance. We have long believed that a thorough knowledge of the principles of political economy was the great desideratum in the qualification of government ministers; and that the want of such a qualification on their part is the chief cause of the present financial distress. God grant that our rulers may be wise in time, and avert social consequences from which the imagination shrinks with horror. Let them ascend like little children to the source of truth, and take counsel of wisdom. Then will they not suffer themselves to be imposed upon by empty minds, nor submit to be enslaved by the political economy—false and misleading—of the Stock Exchange. For official incompetence deprived of the weapons of ignorance “will lose its principal strength, and be no longer able to obtain triumphs, calamitous to honest men and disastrous to the nation.”—SAY.

ART. III. 1.—*The Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society.* London. 1876.

2. *Memoirs of the Royal Astronomical Society.* London. 1876.

THE relation of the earth to the universe is not perceptible to the common observer, nor could it have been very clearly made out till after the lapse of centuries, and many generations of astronomers had observed, studied, and passed away. The best instruments that ingenuity could devise and mechanical skill construct, were necessary to aid the human mind; and even now we can tell only approximately what is the relative importance of our terrestrial globe to the planetary worlds which the telescope has made known to us. The earth's relative form and magnitude are very well-known, and so are its mass and motions; but while we know very much about its habitability, its internal structure and external features, similar information in respect of the planets is yet almost wholly beyond our ken.

Since the earth possesses an atmosphere it was early supposed that all the known planets have such an appendage; but subsequent observations, made with better instruments, and with more knowledge of what should be presented, threw doubt on such general conclusions; for it was almost certain that the moon exhibited no perceptible amount of atmosphere, though Schröter fancied that he saw signs of one of limited extent. The existence of a solar atmosphere is a discovery of recent times. The glare of our atmosphere prevented the atmosphere of the sun being seen with any optical means at the command of the astronomer until a very recent period, without the occurrence of a total solar eclipse. The invention of the spectroscope has removed our atmospheric obstructions, by dispersing the light reflected by our air, and thus rendering visible the clouds which float in the solar envelope. As we now know, evidences of a solar atmosphere were seen so long ago as the year 95 of our era, again in 1733, and faintly in 1806.

It was not till the total eclipse of 1842 that the existence of an extensive solar envelop outside the photosphere, was fully established.* Telescopic and spectroscopic observations have fully determined the fact of the existence of atmospheres surrounding several planets.

We know something of the physical constitution of the sun's atmosphere, but very little of that of the planets. We know that such appendages are gaseous; but except the existence of aqueous vapor, which the spectroscope has shown to exist in some of the planetary atmospheres, we are entirely ignorant of the kinds of the gas which compose them. Notwithstanding our ignorance on this subject at present, we confidently expect that the time will come when the astronomical physicist will be able to determine the kind and nature of the gases of which the planetary atmospheres are composed. Observation has not yet been turned sufficiently in that direction to solve the problem; but it would be well if some of our best experimenters, that have a sufficiency of means at their command, would give some attention to this question.

The solar atmosphere contains hydrogen in considerable abundance, and also metallic vapors, but beyond this our knowledge is not extensive. We do not know but that the atmospheres of some of the celestial bodies may contain permanent gases of whose existence we at present have no knowledge, but we can offer no reason that would render such a view probable, though our ignorance of what may exist obliges us to say that such a thing does not appear to be impossible. The chemist and the natural philosopher have become acquainted with the existence and properties of many terrestrial gases, but he knows of only two that are adapted by their mixture to sustain life, especially the higher forms of animal life, and they are oxygen and nitrogen, which nature has combined mechanically in about or quite the proper proportion to answer our purposes best. Still, we must not assume that different proportions would not have served a good purpose, for organic existence, developed under different atmospheric conditions, might be as

*See *Annuaire du Bureau des Longitudes*, for 1846, p. 464.

permanent and useful as terrestrial life. A larger proportion of oxygen might have shortened the duration of individual lives, but rendered them more vigorous; while a less proportion might have lengthened life, but rendered it less vigorous.

Though we are unable to tell very much about the *physical* constitution of the planetary atmospheres, yet it is not so with their *mechanical* constitution. The laws of the mechanics are fixed laws, and other things being equal, their action on Mars must be the same as on the earth. If planetary gases are of the same nature as terrestrial gases, and we are obliged to assume that they are, we know what are their laws of expansion and contraction, and the influence which heat and cold have on them. The results which we shall give in this article in relation to the solar, stellar, and planetary atmospheres, are based on the assumption that all atmospheric gases are subject to the same laws as terrestrial gases; and we shall further assume the earth's atmosphere to be the type of all such envelopes. As yet we have not the means of determining the mass, or the quantity of matter in any atmosphere, except the earth's, which is equivalent to an ocean of mercury thirty inches deep covering the whole earth. The law which determines the density of an atmospheric envelop at different heights above the surface of the planet, is very nearly independent of the amount of matter in the atmosphere, owing to the nearly spherical form of the sun and planets, and to the smallness of the mass of the atmosphere in comparison with that of the body which it surrounds. If, however, we wish to know the amount of pressure on a given extent of surface, as a square inch, and the density at the surface, or at any given height above it, as compared with some terrestrial standard, it becomes necessary for us to know the mass of the atmosphere, or to assume some value for it. In the absence of real knowledge we may assume as a hypothesis not altogether improbable, that the amount of material in the atmosphere is proportional to the amount of material in the body which it surrounds. That is, that the mass of the earth is to the mass of its atmosphere, as the mass of Jupiter is to the mass of his atmosphere; and similarly for any other body. We are quite certain that the

law does not hold in the case of the moon, but then it is thought that that body once had a more extensive atmosphere which has been absorbed by the rocks of which its surface appears to be composed. In other words it is a world farther advanced in its physical condition than the primary planets, and perhaps the satellites of Jupiter and Saturn. We shall therefore assume in some cases that the mass of the atmosphere—especially in the case of the sun—does not follow this law, but that it is greater than this law requires.*

We know that in the case of the sun and stars heat must enter into the consideration; and it has even been supposed that Jupiter and Saturn have an inherent temperature much above that of the earth, and some observations seem to warrant this conclusion. In taking into consideration the influence of temperature, we shall suppose the surface of the celestial body heated to a given temperature, and that for different heights above the surface the temperature varies directly as the surface temperature, and inversely as the square of the distance from the centre of the body under consideration.

Experiments have shown at what rate terrestrial gases expand for each degree of heat above 32° Fah., and this law we shall assume to hold good in all parts of the universe. Different gases expand according to a slightly different law, but the variation is so small that we need not regard it in our enquiries here. Guy Lussac and others have shown that for each degree Fah. above 32° that the temperature of a gas is increased, its volume is increased by the 490th part of the volume at 32°, so that at the temperature of 490° above 32°, the volume of the gas would be doubled. These are the assumptions which we shall make, and the reader will see that they have the force of probability in their favor.

The determination of the actual temperature of the sun's surface, seems to be a difficult problem. Various results have been found depending on the nature of the experiment and on

*Since the mathematical formula on which our results are based cannot be given here, the reader will find them in a paper read before the American Philosophical Society, November 3, 1876, and published in the Proceedings for that year.

certain hypotheses assumed. The conclusions arrived at vary greatly from one another, but there seems to be more evidence in favor of a very high temperature, than in favor of the results which give a much lower temperature. MM. Pouillet and St. Claire Deville think a temperature between $3,000^{\circ}$ and $20,000^{\circ}$ Fah. the most probable; while Zöllner and others claim a temperature ranging from $50,000^{\circ}$ to $100,000^{\circ}$; Ericsson, four or five millions; Langley, about ten millions; and Secchi, eighteen millions of degrees. The influence of temperature on the height of solar atmosphere, is very considerable. It is known that the height of the earth's atmosphere is at least three hundred and fifty miles; and this height will enable us to calculate the relative density at the surface, the density at the surface of the earth being unity. If the same ratio be supposed to hold for the sun's atmosphere, we can find its height on this supposition. If we suppose the temperature of the sun to be 32° , the height of his atmosphere would be only twelve and a half miles. For a temperature of $4,900,000^{\circ}$ the height would be about 176,000 miles; for a temperature of $7,350,000^{\circ}$ it would be about 335,000 miles; and for a temperature of $9,800,000^{\circ}$ * it would be 606,000 miles. For a temperature of about $17,000,000^{\circ}$, the height of the sun's atmosphere would be about 79,000,000 miles, or it would extend beyond Venus.

So far, then, as we can place any reliance on the laws which we have already explained, the results to which we have arrived do not favor the high temperature which Secchi assigns to the sun. Prof. Young has seen hydrogen clouds more than two hundred thousand miles above the sun's surface. We hence conclude, from the numbers which we have given, that the temperature of the sun's surface is at least as high as $5,000,000^{\circ}$ Fah., and it is probably nearer double this number. We learn also from a similar calculation, that if the temperature of the sun was raised to about $100,000,000^{\circ}$, the sun would be expanded to a distance far beyond the most distant planet.

*These numbers are assumed for convenience in calculation.

It is evident that an atmosphere so far extended as that of the sun is known to be, must be very rare, even if its mass is very considerable. Solar clouds have been seen at a distance of 211,000 miles from the sun's surface;* and if there is any analogy between the solar atmosphere and that of the earth, in respect to clouds, we must conclude that the former extends to a great height beyond the highest solar cloud. The various numbers which we have given as representing the extent of the sun's atmosphere, and which result from calculation, do not depend on the amount of material in the atmosphere, but on the temperature of the sun. The density of the atmosphere at the surface of the sun, and at any height above the surface, depends, however, on the quantity of matter contained in such an envelope. As we have already stated, we shall suppose its mass proportional to the mass of the body which it surrounds. With this supposition and a temperature of the sun equal to 9,800,000°, the density of the atmosphere, at the surface of the sun, would be only one-half, that of hydrogen at the surface of the earth, and a temperature of 32°, being one. At a height of 26,000 miles, the density would be only about a thousandth part of that at the surface.

In an atmosphere so rare as we have just shown the sun's to be, a solid body would move without meeting with very much resistance; and if such a body (a thing that is probably not found on the sun) were projected with very great velocity—corresponding, perhaps, with that seen in the motion of hydrogen jets, two hundred or more miles per second—it would possibly pass beyond the sun's attractive power so far as to reach some one of the planets; but we do not imagine that a meteoric mass of any description which has reached the earth, ever had its origin, as has been supposed, in this way; unless it was thrown out in the form of gas, and afterwards condensed in the cold regions of space. If hydrogen or metallic vapors were in any way pent up beneath the sun's surface, and there heated very intensely, on bursting forth, as it would seem that they frequently do, the difference of specific

* Prof. C. A. Young in *Popular Science Monthly* for Feb., 1874.

gravity in addition to the initial velocity of projection, would cause them to ascend like a balloon, with very great rapidity. In short, we must conclude that the rapid changes which have been observed to take place in the solar atmosphere, are mainly due to the intense heat of the great solar furnace, whether the temperature be owing to chemical or mechanical action.

The pressure of the solar atmosphere on a square inch of surface is about 11,000 pounds; and while the pressure would not be greatly changed if the atmosphere were reduced to 32° , the surface-density would be about 740 times as great as that of the terrestrial atmosphere at the earth's surface; or it would be nearly equal to the mean density of the sun.

Since the fixed stars are suns, they are probably, and in some cases certainly, as their spectra show, surrounded with atmospheres similar to the solar atmosphere; but these envelopes are not directly visible. But "we are occasionally presented with the beautiful and striking phenomenon of a sharp and brilliant star concentrically surrounded by a perfectly circular disk or atmosphere of faint light, in some cases dying away insensibly on all sides; in others, almost suddenly terminated. These are *nebulous stars*."*

It may be difficult to give a satisfactory explanation of the origin of nebulous stars, but we think that the facts which have been given in the preceding pages, will throw some light on the subject. If our sun were heated to some twenty or thirty millions of degrees, not only its atmosphere but the outer portion of the sun itself would be widely expanded, even so far as to include some of the more distant planets. If we now suppose such a sun to be only partly condensed from the nebulous condition, it would present such an appearance as is seen in the nebulous stars. We must not regard the apparent magnitude of these objects as any objection to this explanation, since the parallax of these stars is not known. For aught that we know to the contrary these bodies may not be so far away as has been generally supposed; and it would

* Herschel's *Outlines of Astronomy*. Art. 876.

be well to make an effort to determine their parallax. If our sun were expanded so as to take in the orbit of Neptune, and then removed as far away as *Alpha Centauri*, its apparent magnitude would be from two to five times as great as that of the nebulous stars. It would seem to be necessary to suppose them of disk-like form, and to be so presented to us as to appear circular. Their small number would render this explanation the more probable.

Whether the planet Mercury has or has not an atmosphere, is not definitely settled. It is very difficult to make delicate observations on the planet, owing to its proximity to the sun and its great brilliancy. For the purpose of making observations on its atmosphere, if it has one, day observations would seem to be preferable to early evening observations; the usual time for viewing the planet being between sunset and dark, owing to the fact that its greatest apparent distance from the sun is only about 29° , while it is generally considerably less. During the transit of the planet over the sun's disk, which happens occasionally, it would seem that an atmosphere, if there is such an appendage to Mercury, would become visible by the passage of the solar rays through it. It does not appear, however, to be a conspicuous object, and it is hence not at all times noticed by observers. Some observation, however, would seem to indicate the existence of an atmospheric envelope.*

If we now assume the existence of an atmosphere surrounding the planet Mercury, and that the density at its exterior parts has the same ratio to the density at the surface of the planet, as exists in the case of the earth's atmosphere, (a supposition whose truth is probable and one that we shall adopt in treating of the planetary atmospheres,) we find its height equal to seven hundred and forty miles, the height of the terrestrial atmosphere being assumed equal to three hundred and forty-three miles,—which is probably somewhat too small. All except the lower and denser parts of the atmosphere would be so rare, unless its mass is vastly greater than the law which we have previously explained would call for, that observation could

* For various observations on Mercury during the transit of November 4th, 1868, see *Monthly Notices* of the R. A. S., Vol. XXIX.

scarcely make its existence known. Its density at the surface of the planet would be but little more than two-tenths of the atmospheric density at the earth's surface, or about three and a third times the density of hydrogen gas. The pressure on a square inch of surface is a little more than three pounds; and the height of the barometer about fourteen inches.

Numerous observations are very decisive in relation to the existence of an atmosphere around Venus, and probably more extensive than the one which the earth possesses. Schröter, on the 12th of August, 1790, found the horns of the crescent of Venus extending some eight seconds beyond a semi-circle;* and a similar phenomenon was noticed by Dr. Dick in 1822. The former observer concluded from his observations that the denser part of the atmosphere is as much as three miles in height, and its horizontal refractions about $30' 34''$, which is nearly equal to that of the earth's. Sir William Herschel's observations confirm Schröter's results.† Some of the observers of the transits of Venus in 1761 and 1769, had previously seen evidence of an atmosphere surrounding Venus, in a faint ring of light around the disk of the planet while it was projected on the disk of the sun. The observations of the late Professor Mädler make the mean horizontal refraction of the atmosphere of Venus, one-sixth greater than that of the terrestrial atmosphere,‡ which would imply that it is more dense near the surface of the planet than what the earth is.

If anything more conclusive is needed in regard to an atmosphere of Venus, it may be found in some observations made on the planet, in the day time, by Professor Lyman,|| of Yale College, at its passage through its inferior conjunction on the 11th of December, 1866. He observed the planet a few days before conjunction, and it was evident that the crescent extended beyond a semi-circle. On the 7th it was 40° more. On the 10th it formed a "*complete circle*, bright, thin and

* *Phil. Trans.*, 1792, *Annuaire*, 1842.

† *Phil. Trans.*, 1793, p. 214.

‡ Hind's *Solar System*, p. 36.

|| *Am. Jour. Science*, [2,] Vol. XIV, pp. 129, 130. Prof. Lyman used an excellent 9 inch refractor.

delicate, (the crescent proper,) on the side towards the sun, but on the opposite side a more faint line of light."

The facts which we have given above show that the atmosphere of our "morning and evening star" is of about the same density as that of the earth. Its height is three hundred and ninety-two miles, and at the height above the surface of three and ninety-two hundredth miles, the density is reduced one-half. This result agrees with Schröter's deductions in regard to the denser portions of the atmosphere. The density of the atmosphere at the surface of the planet is about twelve times that of hydrogen; and its pressure on a square inch of surface is about twelve pounds. The barometer would stand there at a height of about twenty-six inches. Judging from the observations which we have given, it seems probable that the mass of the atmosphere of Venus bears a little higher ratio to the mass of the planet than we have supposed; and if we call the surface-density and the pressure the same as the terrestrial atmosphere, we shall probably not be out of the way. If there is water on Venus we see no reason why it may not be an inhabited planet.

We know more about Mars than any other celestial body except the moon. Not many years after the invention of the telescope, astronomers saw evidence of the existence of an atmosphere around her, and it was thought an extensive one. M. Cassini saw, in 1672, a star of the fifth magnitude in the constellation Aquarius become so faint when it was six minutes distant from the planet's disk, that it could not be discerned with the help of a 3 foot telescope. The cause of the disappearance of the star was thought to be the atmosphere of the planet. Sir William Herschel, on the other hand, was able to trace a much smaller star within a very short distance of the planet's limb. It has hence been concluded that Cassini's observations was in some way defective; but it is quite possible to reconcile the two observations. In the first place Herschel employed a much better telescope than Cassini did, and in the second place clouds in the Marsial atmosphere may have obscured the star observed by Cassini, while the star observed by Herschel might have shown through a clear atmosphere. There is one

or two facts in relation to an atmosphere on Mars, that have probably been overlooked by astronomers when they have studied the Marsial atmosphere. Owing to the force of gravity being very small on that planet (less than one-half of terrestrial gravity,) its atmosphere must be of great height. If we suppose it subject to the same conditions in regard to density as the earth's atmosphere, (which we have already explained,) the Marsial atmosphere must be some eleven hundred miles in height. It decreases in density very slowly, for its density does not diminish half till a height of eleven and a third miles above the surface is reached, and at about twenty-three miles the density will be diminished to one-fourth, and so on, for greater heights. Thus clouds may exist in the atmosphere of Mars at a height of twenty miles or more. If the mass of the atmosphere is proportional to the mass of the planet, its surface-density must be very small, being but one and a half times that of hydrogen gas. The pressure on a square inch of surface is less than one and a half pounds; and the height of the barometer would be only about nine inches. If we suppose the mass of the atmosphere twice as great, these numbers will be increased in the same ratio.

That water exists on Mars is certain, for the outlines of seas and other large bodies of water, can be distinctly traced with good telescopes. The accumulation of snow and ice in the polar regions, during the winter seasons on the planet in those parts, and their disappearance (in a measure, at least,) during the warm seasons, were observed by Sir William Herschel nearly a century ago, and the same thing has been repeatedly seen since. This spectroscope has also shown the existence of lines in the spectrum of Mars, which are due to aqueous vapor. We, therefore, see no reason why Mars is not fitted for the existence of animal and vegetable life, and we must hence conclude that both animals and vegetables live there. The rare atmosphere which we have supposed, is, perhaps, no objection; and besides, observations afford evidence that the density is much greater than our figures indicate.

Passing over the group of the Asteroids, which seems to

serve as a dividing line, we come to Jupiter, the giant planet of our system, and the first of a different class of planetary bodies. Jupiter, Saturn, Uranus, and Neptune, are all very much larger than the planets which we have considered, and their external appearance is very different. Some years ago it was thought that the belts which the telescope reveals on Jupiter, were in part clouds and in part the dark body of the planet. Since clouds in general reflect more light than land or water, the bright belts were supposed to be clouds, and the dark belts, land, or the body of the planet. Later observations render it doubtful whether the real surface of Jupiter has yet been seen or not.

In 1860, Professor Lewis B. Gibbs presented a paper to the American Association for the Advancement of Science, at its meeting in Charleston, in which he has discussed the relative reflective power of the planets, and he finds that Jupiter and Saturn reflect or throw out more light, from equal surfaces, than either Mars or Venus. In 1853, Mr. Nasmyth read a paper before the British Association, in which he introduced the idea that Jupiter and Saturn are yet highly heated; and the same hypothesis has been more recently revived by Mr. R. A. Proctor.* Some observations on Jupiter, made in 1872 and 1873, by Lord Rosse† and others, indicate a change of color in the belts, and this fact, the one above mentioned, and other things now regarded as true in regard to the genesis of the solar system, offer us a pretty good evidence that Jupiter really gives out some light of its own, as well as to reflect the sunlight. The clouds which are visible indicate the existence of an atmosphere which has been thought to be pretty extensive. If we apply the same laws to the Jovian atmosphere that we have to the sun and other planets, we shall find the following results:

If we consider the planet cold like the earth, the height of its atmosphere will be one hundred and forty-six miles, if

* In an article in the *Popular Science Monthly* for June, 1872, and taken from the *Cornhill Magazine*.

† *Monthly Notices*. Vol. XXXIV.

we apply to it the rule which we apply to the terrestrial atmosphere. Since this is so much less than what we have found for the other planets, it would at first appear that our result cannot be correct; but when we reflect that the force of gravity is much greater on that planet than on any of the others, we see why its atmosphere is less extensive.

As we have already seen, however, there is some considerable probability that Jupiter has an inherent temperature very much above what we have supposed. In order to test some speculations that have been indulged in respecting the physical constitution of Jupiter, we shall make some suppositions in regard to the temperature at the surface of that planet, and then give the calculated results with respect to its atmosphere. In order that the planet may give out some light of its own, we must suppose its temperature as high as 980° Fah. above the freezing point of water. This will make Jupiter's atmosphere four hundred and twenty-five miles in height. Mr. Proctor supposes the cloud layers in the Jovian atmosphere, situated where the density is about one-fourth of the density of the earth's atmosphere at the surface of the earth. With the temperature which we have assumed, that density will be found in Jupiter's atmosphere at the height of twelve miles above his surface, if the mass of the atmosphere be supposed proportional to the mass of the planet. Mr. Proctor assumes the height to be a hundred miles. We must conclude, then, that the mass of the atmosphere is either much greater than we have assumed (it would require to be 765,000 times as great, making its surface-density 1,600 times that of water,) or its temperature is much greater.

If we assume the surface-temperature of the planet equal to $4,442^{\circ}$ Fah., which, it would seem, is much too high, the height of the atmosphere will be about 1,500 miles. If we suppose the cloud layers to be a hundred miles above the surface, and to occupy a stratum whose density is about the same as that of the earth's atmosphere at the height of ten miles, (and it is probably greater,) the mass of the atmosphere would require to be rather more than twenty-eight times as great as the law, which we have heretofore assumed, calls for; and the

density of the Jovian atmosphere at the surface of the planet would be nearly seventeen times as great as the terrestrial atmosphere at the earth's surface. The density would decrease only about one-fourth as rapidly as the earth's atmosphere decreases. The pressure on a square inch of surface would be nearly twenty-five hundred pounds. If we suppose the mass of the atmosphere proportional to the mass of the planet, the height of the cloud-layer, on the supposition above made, would be about thirty-two miles.

When we consider the improbability that the surface temperature of Jupiter is as high as we have supposed, and also that the mass of the atmosphere is as great as would be required if the cloud-layer were a hundred miles high, we must conclude that the clouds, or belts, which we see extending across the disk of the great planet Jupiter, cannot be more than twenty or twenty-five miles above the surface proper of the planet.* If the mass of the atmosphere is proportional to the mass of the planet, and the temperature about $1,000^{\circ}$, the pressure on a square inch of Jupiter's surface would be about eighty-eight pounds; and the height of the barometer would be a little more than six feet.

It has been suggested that Jupiter's satellites are inhabited; and if they are they must be surrounded with an atmosphere. The height of the atmosphere must be very great, owing to the small amount of attractive force which they exert, if Laplace's values of their masses be nearly correct. Beginning with the most distant satellite from Jupiter, the heights of the atmospheres in order will be 3,600, 2,400, 3,400 and 5,300 miles. Observation seems to indicate the existence of atmospheres around those satellites.

Though the planet Saturn approximates in magnitude to the planet Jupiter, yet the mass of the former is not quite one-third of that of the latter in value; and the force of gravity at the surface of Saturn is a little less than one-half of the

* We have entered into the various details given in the text, to show how uncertain our knowledge is when our results are based on a hypothesis that we do not submit to mathematical calculations; and also because Mr. Proctor's speculations are too frequently taken by editors as real knowledge.

value of the force of gravity at the surface of Jupiter. Owing to the last fact, the height of the atmosphere of Saturn, if his temperature at the surface be 32° , will be a little more than three hundred miles, or nearly the same as the height of the terrestrial atmosphere. If his surface temperature be $1,012^{\circ}$, the height of the Saturnian atmosphere will be about nine hundred and fifty miles; and with a temperature of $4,442^{\circ}$, the atmosphere will have a height of 3,350 miles.

That Saturn has an atmosphere is evident from the existence of belts, or bands, extending across his disk, and from the accumulation of snow or clouds in the polar regions during the winter season of those parts.* It seems more probable that the polar accumulations, which reflect more light than the equatorial regions, are clouds than snow, judging from the general appearance of the surface of the planet. If we assume that clouds are sustained at a height of one hundred miles from the surface of the planet, we find, if the surface temperature be $4,442^{\circ}$, the mass of the atmosphere needs to be about nine times as great as it would be, if its mass is proportional to the mass of the planet, and if clouds are sustained where the density is the same as that of our atmosphere at a height of ten miles. This conclusion is not altogether improbable; but if surface-temperature be $1,012^{\circ}$, the mass of the atmosphere must be about four hundred and seventy times as great. It is safe to say that with the higher temperature, the cloud-layers must be from forty to sixty miles in height. The atmosphere would decrease in density very slowly, since the density would not be diminished one-half till a height of thirty-one miles is reached.

Since the inherent temperature of Saturn may be even greater than we have supposed, it is not impossible that the cloud-layers are a hundred or more miles in height, and that the real density of Saturn is much greater than is usually supposed. By admitting the cloud regions to be considerably extensive, we are able to give an explanation of a phenomenon which has given astronomers some little trouble, and which

* *Annuaire* for 1842, p. 555.

some do not suppose to exist. We refer to Herschel's conclusions that the greatest diameter of Saturn is not through the equator, but that which forms with it an angle of about 45° . In 1872 he measured the equatorial and polar diameters of the planet, but he did not notice any peculiarity in the figure of the planet.* In 1805, however, the same astronomer announced the discovery of a strange irregularity in the form of Saturn. In accordance with former measurements, he found the equatorial diameter to exceed the polar, as was also found to be the case with Jupiter and Mars, but the equatorial diameter was not the largest diameter of the planet, as was the case with the others, but that diameter which formed an angle of $43^{\circ} 20'$ with the plane of the equator, exceeds any of the others.† In 1806 he corrected the measurements of the year previous, and he found the three diameters in the proportion of the numbers 3,600, 3,541, 3,200.‡ According to these measures the figure of the planet was that of a quadrangle with the corners rounded off.

Sir William Herschel regarded the peculiar figure which Saturn appears to have, as owing to the attraction of his rings. This explanation not being regarded as entirely satisfactory, the fact thus pointed out by Herschel was for a long time regarded as an inexplicable phenomenon. The eminence of Dr. Herschel, as an observer, led many astronomers to accept his result as one of the settled truths of astronomy. Professor Airy attempted to account for the Herschelian form of Saturn upon the theory of gravitation, but he did not succeed. In 1832 Professor Bessel resolved to test Herschel's conclusions by means of carefully conducted micrometrical measurements of the planet. He computed several diameters of the planet, supposing it ellipsical, and with polar and equatorial diameters such as he found by observation; and these he compared with those which he found by direct measurement. He found the two sets to agree almost exactly.¶ Whence it

* *Phil. Trans.* 1790. Part I, p. 17.

† *Phil. Trans.* 1805. P. 280.

‡ *Ibid.* 1806. Part II, p. 461.

¶ *Connaissance des Temps*, for 1838.

was concluded that Herschel had fallen into an error. We have been somewhat particular in giving an account of this discovery of Saturn's form, for we are not aware that Bessel's conclusion has ever been seriously called in question. Sir William Herschel's care and accuracy as an observer are not, however, easily set aside, and we must not be too hasty in concluding that he was in error. There seems to be a possibility that Herschel and Bessel are both right. At any rate the subject demands a more careful and extended re-examination with the aid of our best instruments, than it has yet had.

We have already shown that observation indicates the existence of an atmospheric envelop to Saturn of considerable density, and theory shows that it must be pretty extensive. In this atmosphere clouds exist, and they appear to surround the planet completely. They possibly exist at a great height above the surface of the planet proper, if, indeed, the planet is yet solidified. The clouds would be influenced both by the inherent heat of Saturn, and by the heat of the sun. The rapid rotation of the planet would influence, to a considerable extent, the circulation of the atmosphere in polar directions, and this motion would modify the external configuration of the planet as indicated by the clouds.

William Ferrel, in a treatise on the motion of fluids relative to the earth's surface,* has shown that the external form of the terrestrial atmosphere corresponds with that which Herschel attributed to Saturn. Ferrel finds that the height of the atmosphere, at the latitude of 35° , is nearly a mile greater than it is at the equator. His formulas are adapted to the earth and will not so well apply to Saturn; but if we substitute the numbers for Saturn in his equations, we shall find that the atmosphere of that planet is three hundred miles higher at the latitude of 35° , than it is at the equator; and if the Saturnian cloud strata partake of the form thus indicated, we shall have an approximation to the Herschelian form of Saturn. Herschel's figure indicate a difference in height of

* *The Motions of Fluids and Solids, Relative to the Earth's Surface.* Taken from the *Math. Monthly*. See his figure 1.

about six hundred miles, instead of three hundred. We must allow some margin for the difficulty of making exact measurements when the object is so small as the disk of Saturn. We have thus pointed out a cause, and it would appear to be a sufficient cause of the peculiarity of the form of Saturn; and the explanation is of a purely mechanical and analytical nature. If now the figure of Saturn is variable—and it would be well to observe it closely throughout a Saturnian year—we can, perhaps, reconcile Herschel's and Bessel's results.

If the mass of Saturn's atmosphere be proportioned to the mass of the planet, the density at the surface will be about one and two-tenths that of the earth's; the pressure on a square inch will be about eighteen pounds; and the height of the barometer will be thirty-three inches. These results are based on the supposition that Saturn is of the same temperature as the earth.

We might add numbers giving the same elements for the atmospheres of Uranus and Neptune, but it is not best to do so, since observations will not help us much.

It would be well to observe carefully to see if Jupiter's satellites cast a perfectly black shadow on the disk of the planet, or whether Jupiter does not have some light of his own.

- ART. IV.—1. *The Dramatic Works of Wycherley, Congreve, Vanbrugh and Farquhar, with Biographical and Critical Notes.* By LEIGH HUNT. London. 1840.
2. *Lectures on the English Comic Writers.* By WILLIAM HAZLITT. London. 1818.
3. *An Essay on the Artificial Comedy of the last Century. Essays of Elia.* By CHARLES LAMB.

THE great revolution of the seventeenth century and the gloomy but terrible episode of the Commonwealth, have always appeared to us to constitute the grand gulf between mediæval and modern England. Notwithstanding the vast strides which were effected under the Tudors, and especially under Queen Elizabeth, from the semi-barbarism of the Plantagenets to a condition of comparative civilization and high literary culture, the English under these sovereigns appear to the imagination invested with a species of epic grandeur. We cannot figure to ourselves how these people thought, talked and acted in familiar life; their manners and customs are known to us only as we can gather them from books, and even as thus gathered are so unlike in many respects to those of our own day that we can find in them little that is familiar or in accordance with our own ideas. Their fashions were not our fashions; their ways of thinking and feeling were not those of our day; even their language appears to wear a different aspect and to move with more stateliness and circumspection than that which trips so glibly from modern tongues. Therefore, while occupying a definite and highly important position in history, they are, so far as concerns our mental and social sympathies, almost as unreal to us as were the heroes of Homer to the Athenians.

It is a remarkable coincidence that the last ruler of the house of Stuart was, like the last of the Tudors, a woman; that under each sovereign the nation rose to an eminence, both literary and political, which it had not attained in any previ-

ous reign; and that each has retained a peculiar hold on the affectionate memories of her subjects. Yet, although barely a century can be said to have elapsed between the death of Elizabeth and the accession of Anne, yet we think and speak of Queen Anne and her contemporaries with much the same familiarity as of Queen Victoria and hers; while the giants of the Elizabethan age seem to loom out of the remote past, grand and undefined, the ornaments of a period which displayed the culmination of the poetic epoch, as Anne's times did that of the prosaic.

It is in fact difficult to associate poetic impressions with Queen Anne or any of her surroundings, or indeed with the surroundings of any English sovereign since the time of the Restoration. Awful as were some of the events which these reigns record—important as were others in their bearing on the social and political condition of the world—neither the horrors of the plague and the great fire, the persecutions of the Covenanters, the great revolution of 1688, the romantic attempts of the Pretender to recover the crown of England, nor the still greater revolution whose centennial anniversary we have but now ceased to celebrate, can avail to take their history out of the light of common day; while over the reign of the ill-fated Charles I and of all his predecessors, however unkingly or unworthy, there lingers a glamour of romance—the enchantment which distance lends to the view in time as completely as in actual space.

The difference in the feelings with which we regard epochs separated by so short a space of time, may be accounted for partly by the great change which the period effected in the manners and customs of our ancestors. Prior to the first revolution the ideas, traditions and usages of England were essentially English. The old English sports which had been popular in the days of the Plantagenets were still in vogue in the time of the first Stuarts. The national life still maintained its heartiest development in the country, where each noble, nay almost every private gentleman, maintained his own little court and administered civil, if not criminal, justice among his own retainers. The drama was peculiarly English. The na-

tional character, if wanting in refinement according to modern ideas, was genuine, vigorous and hearty. The spirit of veneration still existed—not altogether, perhaps, unmingled with superstition; and the reverence for the true, the noble and the beautiful manifested itself in the poetry which, reflecting the spirit of the age, rose to a height superior to that of any other. On the other hand, brutality appeared even in high places; crimes of violence were common, and for the protection of life and property there was little resource beyond the strong arm of the wealthier gentry and their retainers.

The French grace and levities which James I endeavored to introduce sat clumsily enough on the rough material on which it was grafted, and though a demoralized and emasculated court was the result of his administration, little change was developed in the national character. But the stern Puritan element was destined to sweep away this generation like the wind the leaves of the forest. Nowhere in history do we find so complete and immediate an overthrow of all the established modes of thinking, talking and acting. Puritanism set its stamp on England to such an extent that even those of the old race who continued in their estates were permitted so to do only by the suppression of all their ancient usages. To the new generation which grew up under this *régime* every feature of their ancestral life was like a myth—a dreary fanaticism at which they internally rebelled while they reluctantly submitted to its requisitions—was all they knew of England or English life.

While the rising generation in England were growing up under the influence of a religious fanaticism which they adopted, or professed, to adopt, that portion of them which had taken refuge in France developed under entirely different influences. The Court of Louis XIV was the most brilliant in Europe, and its influence, moral and social, was felt throughout the country. It was in cities that the national life was principally developed, and Paris, during that reign, became the centre of civilization. In that city the social element had attained an importance entirely different from anything that had been known in Great Britain. Society had

become the theatre of life, and had adopted a form not unlike that which it wears at the present day. Morning visits, receptions, evening balls, fêtes and masquerades; the restaurants, the public gardens, the theatres where visits were exchanged in the boxes as regularly as in private dwellings, were the recognized occupation not only of the nobles, but of all persons aspiring to the title of gentry, and were even the sphere in which most of the political intrigues were carried on. Combined with all this was of course no little dissoluteness of living; the marriage tie was but slightly regarded; religion had become little more than a form; but over all was maintained a veil of refinement and even of external decorum which, in depriving vice of its grossness, removed much of its hideousness.

We can readily imagine the avidity with which a life of this nature would be adopted by the youths who from their recent experiences had wrongly learned to hate the very name of religion, and to associate even the idea of decorum with that of the foulest hypocrisy. The exiled king of England was himself a cousin of the French sovereign; and to the friends who surrounded him the most attractive gayeties of the French capital were open. Unfortunately its manners and tastes were more easily acquired than its cultivation and refinement; and it is not surprising that the young English sojourners in Paris, while they adopted the social usages and also the morals of their temporary abode, retained to the full the grosser instincts which they had brought from their own country; and with whatever success they might have acquired the accomplishments and superficial graces of their continental neighbors, failed not only to aspire to the literary attainments of the polished French capital, but even to retain the degree of education which had formerly been considered necessary to a gentleman in England. When we turn to contemporary accounts of England after the Restoration, we find the majority of the gentry of both sexes profoundly ignorant; their correspondence sets spelling and grammar alike at defiance; their daily life appears a scene of unblushing profligacy; and their conversation characterized by a disregard of common decency which

we scarcely find paralleled in the annals of the most debauched Roman emperors.

The Commonwealth came to an end; and with the Restoration an entirely new style of manners and morals found its way into England. The courtiers who had surrounded Charles in his exile, were, of course, those who remained near him in prosperity, and who gave the tone to the community. Society assumed the external dress which it had acquired in France, and which, with slight variations, it has retained to the present day. Visits and balls, masquerades in winter and the Park in summer* became the business of ladies and gentlemen of fashion, and of their copyists in all the ranks. The "small change" of conversation became current in society. This may have been, and very possibly was, but a dull copy of the dialogue *spirituel* of the French *salon*; although in the comedies of Wycherley and Congreve, whatever be their other faults, dullness of dialogue is not to be included among them. They literally sparkle with repartee—drawn however in all probability rather from the authors' recollections of France, than their experience in England. But if they aspired to imitate the wit of French conversation, they certainly did not attempt to copy its refinement. The language in which Wycherley's men and women of fashion express themselves can only be compared to the style which is at present familiar in the back slums of the cities. In this statement we do not refer merely to the phraseology, but to the sentiments habitually expressed and to the ordinary topics of conversation. In fact, the license which the better classes imported from Paris, found its echo in a much worse element in the heart of the English nation. The people, who had for so many years been living under a system of intense repression, compelled by law to wear a grave face, rigorously observe the Sabbath, express in their deportment a piety which they were often very far from feeling, and eschew the most innocent diversion as if it were the most heinous sin, the moment the restraint was removed rushed to the opposite ex-

* See Wycherley's *Plain Dealer*, Act III.

treme. The spirit of blasphemy, ribaldry and profligacy which manifested itself on the moment of the Restoration is one which we can hardly realize, and of which we can form but a faint idea from its reflex in the literature, dramatic and otherwise, which became popular immediately on the change of government. What were the morals and manners of an age which produced Rochester's poems, Wycherley's dramas, and the performances of Sir Charles Sedley and the Calves-head Club, we can only infer from contemporary memorials; and from these we learn enough effectually to abate any ardor which we might feel in the pursuit of information on the subject.*

The drama was, of course, one of the first institutions to manifest the change in the modes of thinking, feeling and acting, which had become characteristic of the English people. The drama of the period preceding the Revolution had been of a character essentially poetic. Even the comedies of Shakespeare, of Beaumont and Fletcher, and of their contemporary dramatists, had relied principally on the development of the plot, the multiplication of incidents, the effectiveness of the situation, and the portraiture of character to interest and attract the public. Jonson had to a certain extent departed from this practice in an attempt to portray what he called the humors of the age; but these "humors" were rather the display of individual oddities, or at the most, of peculiar fashions which were ephemeral in their character, and lost their interest when the originals had passed from memory. In fact, in the palmy days of the English stage there appears to have been no medium between the romantic drama and the broad farce. In France, however, the position of comedy was entirely different. There, under the inspiration of Molière, it had undertaken to portray the manners and customs of the times, to hold the mirror up to the Court, and to present to the spectators

*"On the very first day on which the restraint of fear is taken away, and on which men venture to say what they feel a frightful peal of blasphemy, and ribaldry proclaims that the short-sighted policy which aims at making a nation of saints, has made a nation of scoffers."—*Macaulay*.

such gentlemen and ladies as they were accustomed to meet in every day life. Hence originated what is called the Comedy of Manners. We can realize the fascination which this style of entertainment possessed, from the charm which we find even at present in the comedies of Molière, and the attraction which in our own day is exercised by those comedies, which, however inferior in point of literary merit, present, or profess to present, anything like a picture of fashionable society as it now exists. We need only mention as an illustration, the names of Bourcicault and Robertson. The comedians of the Restoration found this style of drama peculiarly adapted to the tastes of the community in which they lived; and the comedies of Wycherley, Congreve, Vanbrugh and Farquhar represent in fact the spirit of Molière transferred to the atmosphere of Great Britain.

If these comedians may be considered to present a true picture of the state of morals and manners in Great Britain in the time of Charles the Second and his immediate successors, it is one which we cannot contemplate without a shudder. Virtue, morality, even common decency and the ordinary respect which in most ages vice pays to virtue, appear to be entirely unknown. Religion is regarded as a mere laughing stock, or the cloak which is adopted by those addicted to the meanest vices. The truth and honor of man, the chastity of woman, everything which our nobler instincts teach us to respect, is openly trampled under foot. The affections are nowhere, nor even the common sympathies which ordinarily bind man to man. Of these sympathies, we may add, even the women appear to be destitute. In utter selfishness, callousness of feeling and recklessness of life and language, they seem to modern readers like Cyprians of the lowest grade; and despite the wit and brilliancy which sparkle in every page of these comedies, we feel in reading their works as if we were living in Pandemonium—the inhabitants, male and female, are scoffing, sneering devils—devoid alike of morality, honor, decency or heart, and glorying in their depravity as if it were the pabulum of life.

To mention a few of the instances—premising that those

which we omit are such as no writer of the present day would care to particularize. In Wycherley's "Love in a Wood," it would seem to have been the custom of gentlemen and ladies of quality to congregate nightly in St. James' Park, not to keep, but to *make* assignations—the ladies wearing masks so as to be in no wise distinguished from the worst of their sex, who, except in the matter of rank, were no worse than themselves. The gallants of the time make no scruple of pursuing their game even into respectable houses. Young girls, who have been brought up with the utmost precaution, are obliged to marry to save themselves from public disgrace. In the "Gentleman Dancing Master," a young lady, whose education has been almost conventual in its seclusion, garnishes her conversation with masculine oaths, and makes nocturnal appointments with a person whom she knows only by sight and reputation. In the same comedy women of the town make no scruple of forcing themselves into private rooms at restaurants, and even into private houses and into the family circle; and this is considered so little of an outrage that not only are they not expelled, but the gentlemen of the family converse with them unreservedly in the presence of the ladies.

In the "Country Wife" the vicious propensities of four out of the five heroines are the only motives pretended for their various delinquencies; and although the conduct of Alithea is characterized by more decorum, her brother, at least, expresses himself as entertaining very little faith in her virtue. But the most disgusting picture of all is in the "Plain Dealer," where Manly, the hero, who is described in the "*dramatis personæ*" as of a surly, *honest* humor, deliberately plans and executes the ruin and disgrace of the woman who has jilted him; while Fidelia, by whom he is truly beloved, can find no better means of proving her attachment than by conniving at and assisting his dastardly revenge. This play may in fact be regarded as the apotheosis of treachery, villainy and profligacy; yet so perverted was the taste of the times that the character of Manly was held up to admiration, and the author himself complimented therefor with the *sobriquet* of "Manly Wycherley."

In "The Old Bachelor" of Congreve, vice is literally rampant. The whole intrigue of the play turns on the marriage by fraud of a forsaken mistress and the release of her lover. Even the quasi-respectable ladies secure their lovers only by assuming the disguise of women of the town; and we may quote, as a specimen of the refinement of the day, the language of one of them, described as an "affected lady," and evidently intended as an object of ridicule for her peculiar fastidiousness: "Oh monstrous filthy fellow! Good slovenly Captain Huffle, Bluffe (what is your hideous name?) begone; you stink of brandy and tobacco, most soldier-like."—Act iv, scene 9.

"In "The Double Dealer," by the same author, family relations are altogether ignored, or made to add a zest to the intrigues which form the staple of the plot. In "Love for Love" we have one virtuous character, Angelica; but her virtue is but a poor apology for her heartlessness and malice. Of the "other *dramatis personæ*," male and female, the less said the better, except that notorious vice appears no bar to social position, and even ignorance is no guarantee for innocence. In "The Way of the World" each husband is the lover of every woman except his wife, and each wife at the service of every man except her husband, and they are as indulgent to one another as independent in their own actions. The "Relapse" of Vanbrugh presents boldly on the stage characters and incidents now considered unfit even for mention. In the "Provoked Wife" a young unmarried lady is the willing aider, abettor and prompter of her aunt's amours—amours, we may add, which the latter has steadily resisted until encouraged to them by her niece. In "The Confederacy" two married women combine to make money out of each other's husbands by encouraging them as their lovers. We may add that in each of these plays actions which would now not be considered fit subjects for description or even mention are made matters of scenic representation.*

* We cite no instances from Farquhar; for though he gives us but a coarse impression of the manners of the times, his comedies by no means indicate the utter social demoralization which characterizes the sketches of his predecessors.

But we doubt whether, as a matter of fact, these dramatists present an accurate picture of the condition of morals and manners in Great Britain at that time. Of the tone in vogue at the court of Charles II there can be no doubt that they convey only too true an impression. But we must remember that in this court women of the lowest birth, breeding and morals occupied the position of peeresses, to which they had been elevated by their royal lover, and in which character they were received by the queen herself. These people were the most active patrons of the play-houses, and the moral tone presented there was such as they might well prefer to believe the tone of the entire realm. The heroines of Wycherley's and Congreve's plays are such as the Duchesses of Cleveland and Portsmouth might recognize as their own associates, and such as they would gladly be persuaded all women, whether of quality or otherwise, were. But that there was no virtue in England even in the days of Charles II, that there were not still to be found faithful wives, devoted mothers, and pure maidens able to resist the evil influences of the times, it will require more unimpeachable evidence than the testimony of these playwrights to induce us to believe, and we have sufficient proof to the contrary in the fact that the two nieces of the Merry Monarch himself—princesses born and bred in the very atmosphere of his court, and who successively ascended the throne of England—passed through the life-long ordeal of their position without a whisper from their worst enemies attacking the reputation of either. Scandal was sufficiently busy with the names of both these princesses—the Jacobites unhesitatingly, though we believe falsely, attributing to one a design on her father's life, and to the other habits of private intoxication; yet in no instance do we meet with so much as an insinuation against the moral character of either.

However we may esteem the comedy of the Restoration as a picture of morals, of the manners of the time there can be no doubt that it presents a reflection almost photographic. We see here the germ of what may be called modern society—that is, society in the dress which it had adopted from the French, and which, with a certain increase of refinement, it

has continued to maintain to this day. The forms, the fashions and all the little details of social life are given with a minuteness which shows that they possessed for the writer's contemporaries the charm of decided novelty. The social etiquette, the social amusements, even the modes and topics of conversation are dwelt upon at times as if the audiences still required instruction on these subjects. The gentry of England had not yet become sufficiently accustomed to the ordinary social fictions to accept them as a matter of course. Therefore we are told at length of the exchange of morning visits,* of the promenades in the Park; of the restaurants and the theatres where Lord Foppington entertained himself till nine o'clock with looking upon the company, and usually disposed of one hour more in leading them out;† of the masquerades and balls; of the special styles of dress and manners which characterized the fashionables of either sex; even the style of compliment and badinage which was considered essential to the beau and the belle of the period.‡

In all these minute delineations of every-day customs we find the evidences of a society yet in its infancy, or at least in a process of reconstruction on an entirely new model. It is for this reason that in the English comedies all the social features are so elaborately set forth, which in Molière's plays we gather only incidentally.

This disposition to dwell at length upon the ephemeral fashions of the time is particularly noticeable in the comedies

* As in the following scene from Vanbrugh's "Relapse:"

Amanda.—"Prithee what care I who has been here?"

Maid.—"Madame, 'twas my lady Bridle and my lady Tiptoe."

Amanda.—"My lady Fiddle and my lady Faddle! What dost stand troubling me with the visits of a parcel of impertinent women? When they are well seamed with the smallpox they won't be so fond of showing their faces. There are more coquettes about the town."

Maid.—"Madam, I suppose they only came to return your ladyship's visit, according to the custom of the world."—Act IV. Scene 4.

† *Ibid.* Act II. Scene 1.

‡ Witness Tattle's instructions to Miss Prue, in Congreve's "Love for Love."

of Wycherley, the earliest of the four celebrated comic dramatists of the period. In this author we also find the imitation of Molière much more conspicuous and undisguised than in the comedies of his successors. This is not surprising, for Wycherley's youth was passed in France, and his first ideas of dramatic literature were gathered from the great French comedian. Born about A. D. 1640, he was, at the age of fifteen, sent to France, where he resided until the Restoration. His associates were the frequenters of the Hôtels Rambouillet and Montausier, the centres of the wit, learning and refinement of Paris. His chief friend was the Duchesse de Montausier, by birth Mademoiselle de Rambouillet, the most distinguished *précieuse* of her time, and the leader of the somewhat affected style of conversation which, though unmercifully ridiculed by Molière, we may respect as a sincere effort to refine the tone of society, hitherto sadly in need of such influences. This lady's persuasions are said to have converted young Wycherley to the Roman faith, although judging from his writings, she produced little result in refining his tastes or elevating his morals. Possibly in these respects he was more amenable to the influence of the Duke her husband, who was himself a convert from the Huguenot faith, and of whose character we may form an idea from the fact that he furnished the original of Molière's *Misanthrope*, and (perhaps still more fully) of Wycherley's *Plain Dealer*.

The young gentleman's conversion was not however of very long duration. At the age of twenty he returned to England, where he became a fellow commoner of Queen's College, Oxford, where, however, he never matriculated, but only lived in the Provost's lodgings, being entered in the public library under the title of *Philosophiæ Studiosas*, in July, 1660.* The only effect of his residence appears to have been his reconversion to Protestantism, which is attributed to Bishop Barlow, but is more probably due to the fact that Romanism was not in very good odor in England after the Restoration, the king, notwithstanding his own religious proclivities, feel-

* Wood.

ing strongly the necessity of conciliating the favor of his Protestant subjects.

According to his own account, he had already commenced his literary career, having written "Love in a Wood" at the age of nineteen, while he was yet in France, and the "Gentleman Dancing Master" the year after his return to England. For this we have no better authority than his own statement to Pope, made at a much later period of his life;* and with this statement we find much that is irreconcilable in the contents of the plays themselves. "Love in a Wood, or St. James' Park" was not produced until 1672. The comedy turns entirely on the adventures of a variety of ladies and gentlemen (so called) in St. James' Park at night, where their midnight rambles are spoken of as "a new fashion."† Some of the scenes are laid in the French House and Mulberry Garden House, fashionable restaurants of the time of Charles II. In the very first scene the Great Fire, which occurred in 1666, is referred to as a past event;‡ the play-houses and churches are mentioned as places of ordinary resort, and guineas (first struck in 1663) appear to be in general circulation. These references are too casual to justify the assumption that they were inserted subsequently to the composition of the play; but conceding that possibility, how can we believe a comedy which displays on every page the most intimate acquaintance with London life to have been written by a youth who had only known England under Puritan domination, and at a time when the London life of the Restoration can hardly be said to have had an existence? It may be added that of all Wycherley's plays that have come down to our day, this is the only one which displays no reminiscence of Molière. It is hardly

* *Spence's Anecdotes* (Singer's ed.), p. 161.

† See the opening passage of Act II.

Ranger.—"Hang me if I am not pleased extremely with this new-fashioned catterwauling—this midnight coursing in the Park."

‡ "Has not my husband's 'scutcheon walked as much ground as the citizen's signs since the Fire;" and again in Act III, "If the register had not been burned in the last Great Fire."

likely that an author residing in France, and so ardent an admirer of the great French dramatist as to make him the subject of perpetual imitation, could have written a comedy in which no portion of his spirit was infused at a time when he would naturally have been most under his influence.

In fact, there can be no doubt, from the internal evidence of the play itself, that "Love in a Wood" was written after a long residence in London had familiarized the author with the details of London life, and with the habits of men about town; not however of women of quality, for both in this play and the "Gentleman Dancing Master," the only female characters which impress the reader as drawn from personal observation are those of citizens' families, and a still lower, though hardly more degraded class. The high-born ladies are evidently ideals or, at the best, reminiscences of the author's experience in France. Of Wycherley's career, from his departure from Oxford, until the appearance of his first play, little is known, except that he was entered as a student at the Middle Temple, where, however, he appears to have accomplished little beyond acquiring a general knowledge of the jargon of law and the humors of Courts which he subsequently utilized in his "Plain Dealer."

Whatever may have been the period of his first literary efforts, it is certain that he did not appear before the public until 1672, when "Love in a Wood, or St. James' Park," was brought out with considerable success. More has already been said about this play than its merits deserve. Its sole recommendations are a certain brilliancy of dialogue, and a few amusing situations—especially the scene between Sir Simon, Dapperwit and Mrs. Martha, in the last act. On the other hand, its indecencies are such as can hardly be mentioned, further than by saying that they fully justify the commentary of Macaulay :

"In truth, Wycherley's indecency is protected against the critics as a skunk is protected against the hunters. It is safe because it is too filthy to handle, and too noisome even to approach."*

* "Essay on the Comic Dramatists of the Restoration."

The appearance of this play was however a great event in Wycherley's life, and proved the turning point of his fortune. Whether accidentally or with intention he had introduced into the first act a song in which he eulogized the superiority in intellect and valor of illegitimate children over those born in wedlock.* The sentiment of this song had the good fortune to meet the approbation of the Duchess of Cleveland—a woman of low birth, but whom King Charles' admiration had exalted to a brilliant social position. So little had this lady (?) thought it necessary to adapt her manners to her new station, that it is said to have been her custom to drive in Hyde Park asleep in her coach with her mouth wide open. Wycherley's person pleased her as much as the sentiments of his comedy, and she proceeded to make love to him after a characteristic fashion. Meeting him one day in the Ring in Hyde Park, she put her head from her coach window and bawled out "Sir, you are a rascal; you are a villain!" adding another epithet which Macaulay remarks might with justice have been applied to one of her own children. The dramatist accepted the challenge as a matter of course. Turning his own equipage, he speedily overtook that of the Duchess; (or, as Pope tells the story, called on her in her apartments on the following morning), when the following refined conversation occurred:

"Madam," said Wycherley, "you have been pleased to bestow on me a title which belongs only to the fortunate. Will your ladyship be at the play to-night?"

"Well" said the Duchess, "What if I am there?"

"Why then" rejoined the play-wright, "I will be there to wait on your ladyship, though I disappoint a fine woman who has made me an assignation."

"So," exclaimed the lady, "you are sure to disappoint a woman who has favored you for one who has not?"

"Yes," returned Wycherley, "if the one who has not favored me is the finer woman of the two. But he who can be constant to your ladyship until he can find a finer is sure to die your captive."

*The language of the song is unquotable. We may add that it is supposed to be sung in a French Coffee house by a lady who apologizes for it with the remarks: "Though it be the fashion for women of quality to sing any song whatever, because the words are not distinguished, yet I should have blushed to have done it now but for you, Sir."—Act I. Scene 2.

From this interview commenced an intimacy which was of little pecuniary advantage to the dramatist, compared with what he might have anticipated. To her he dedicated the play which had led to their acquaintance; in which dedication he speaks repeatedly of the favors received from his patroness; although he was careful to explain this phrase, by a reference to her Grace having twice witnessed his play. The Duchess herself made no secret of her partiality for the handsome dramatist; and sixty years later, old men who remembered those days related how she used to visit him in the Temple, disguised as a country girl, in a straw hat and pattens, and with a basket in her hand.* She presented him at Court where he was well received by the King, and acquired that knowledge of the manners of fashionable life which he utilized in his later plays. The Duke of Buckingham, "then Master of the Horse, and one of the infamous ministry known as the Cabal,"† was sufficiently jealous of the Duchess' favors, or, as Leigh Hunt suggests, of her reputation, to attempt to pick a quarrel with her new favorite; but a little adroit flattery soon appeased the capricious nobleman, and he received the dramatist among his friends, made him one of his equerries and gave him a commission in his regiment. Under the patronage of the Duke, Wycherley advanced so rapidly in favor with the King, that on the occasion of an illness Charles visited him at his lodgings in Bond Street, recommended a visit to Montpellier for the recovery of his health, and presented him with five-hundred pounds for the expenses of the journey.

In 1673, our author produced on the stage his second comedy "The Gentleman Dancing Master," which he represented himself to have written within a year of his first arrival in England. From the character of the play, this seems not impossible. It displays no more acquaintance with English manners and customs than might have been easily acquired in a year's residence. The principal *dramatis personæ* are En-

* Voltaire's Letters to the English Nation.

† Macaulay.

glishmen who make themselves ridiculous by adopting the manners and language of foreigners; and the chief points of the intrigue are evidently borrowed from French and Spanish sources. The play would appear to have met with but indifferent success. It was first brought out at Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, and afterwards at Salisbury Court. In a prologue written on the occasion of this second production, the author admits that it was not successful at the other end of the town; and that it was scarcely more popular in the city we may infer from the prologue to the "Country Wife" in which the author designates himself:

"The late so baffled scribbler of this day."

The "Gentleman Dancing Master" was hardly deserving of better success. Of all Wycherley's comedies it is undoubtedly the poorest, and has been justly styled "a long foolish farce, in the exaggerated manner of Molière, but without his spirit or whimsical invention." It was probably either shortly before or shortly after the production of this comedy that Wycherley took service on board a man-of-war and was present at a battle which he celebrated in a copy of verses described by Macaulay as "too bad for the bellman." It had become the fashion during the second Dutch war, for young men about town to serve on board the King's ships, doing no little harm to the service by their ignorance and want of discipline. It was, in fact, a mere freak of fashion, to which Wycherley alludes in the epilogue to his "Gentleman Dancing Master":

"And since all gentlemen must pack to sea,
Our gallants and our judges you must be."

The only result of the dramatist's naval experience was the suggestion of various characters for his subsequent comedy of the "Plain Dealer."

The "Country Wife," which appeared in 1675, is indubitably the best, in a literary point of view, of Wycherley's comedies. The idea of the play is taken from Molière's "l'École des Femmes," but Wycherley has borrowed little beyond the conception. The characters, the plot and the dialogue are entirely his own. According to Wycherley's own

statement this was the last of his compositions, and was written in 1672; but it certainly appeared before the "Plain Dealer," and there are passages in this latter comedy which are evidently of a later date than the play in question. For brilliancy of dialogue and ingenuity of plot the "Country Wife" is unsurpassed. The character of the heroine is delicious—her naïveté, her instinctive cunning and the ingenuity with which she changes the letters and causes her jealous husband to turn her out of doors and send her to her lover in the disguise of his sister Alithea, are irresistible. Alithea and Harcourt display instincts of honor and refinement unknown to the generality of Wycherley's heroes and heroines. The moral tone of the play is simply disgusting. The conception of Horner is one which it is difficult to realize could have been tolerated on the stage even in the days of Charles II. It is fortunate that this comedy in the subsequent century fell into the hands of Garrick, who reproduced it in the shape of the "Country Girl," turning the wife into a betrothed, like the Agnès of Molière, and so effectually eliminating the offensive passages that we are able to enjoy the real wit and geniality of the author without the perpetual outrages on decency which unfit the original comedy for representation. The "Plain Dealer," which followed in 1677, ranks almost equally high in a literary point of view; but in other respects is even more offensive than the "Country Wife." We do not so much allude to its offences against decency, in which it were impossible to surpass its predecessor, as to the frightful cynicism of the entire production. The idea of Manly is borrowed from Molière's *Alceste*; but while *Alceste* is really a noble character embittered by the vice and hollowness which he sees around him, Manly is as low and depraved as any of the characters whom he denounces. The "Plain Dealer" may justly be described as the apotheosis of falsehood, treachery and villainy, and the most fearful evidence of the moral depravity of the times appears in the fact that Wycherley evidently considered that in Manly he was portraying an elevated character.

It would not be proper to pass over the "Plain Dealer"

without mention of a scene, evidently taken from "La Critique de l'École des Femmes," in which the "Country Wife" is discussed by a party of ladies and gentlemen at a morning reception. It would seem as if Wycherley were afraid that the obscenities of the former play would not be thoroughly comprehended, for he takes especial pains in this scene to make clear to the conception of the audience every *équivoque* which might possibly have been overlooked. However, this scene has its value, for it stands as a testimony that even in Charles II's time there were parties to whom the license of the stage was offensive; who were capable of appreciating better things, and who had some regard for virtue and decency. The appearance of the "Plain Dealer" was indirectly the cause of an important event in the life of the dramatist. He had received at that period an intimation of his proposed appointment as tutor to the Duke of Richmond—Charles II's illegitimate son. While awaiting the appointment he went down to Tunbridge Wells, and was one day in the bookseller's shop with his friend Mr. Fairbeard, of Gray's Inn, when the young Countess of Drogheda, a rich and handsome widow, entered the shop and inquired for the "Plain Dealer."

"Madam," said Mr. Fairbeard, "since you are for the 'Plain Dealer,' there he is for you."

"Yes," observed Wycherley, "the lady can bear plain dealing, for she appears to be so accomplished that what would be compliment addressed to others would be plain dealing addressed to her."

The lady was of course ready with a repartee, and the flirtation thus inaugurated eventually terminated in matrimony. The marriage was private for fear the dramatist should lose his favor at court; but like all private marriages it was ere long discovered, and ruined the dramatist forever with the king. The countess unfortunately was intensely jealous, and it was enough for her to know that the Duchess of Cleveland was still paramount at court, to determine her to oppose every effort which her husband might make to re-establish himself in that sphere. The lady herself was jealous, ill-tempered and imperious. She had been a maid of honor at Whitehall, and

knew the tone of morals that prevailed there. Poor Wycherley was kept under as strict surveillance by his wife as his favorite heroine, Mrs. Margery Pinchwife, could ever have been by her husband. Even when he went to meet his old friends at the tavern in Bow Street he was required to sit with the windows open, that the countess, whose house was on the opposite side of the street, might be assured that there was no woman in company. The death of the countess, which occurred before very long, did not relieve Wycherley's troubles. The fortune which she bequeathed him became the subject of a lawsuit, which finally consigned the poor dramatist to the Fleet, where he languished for seven years. His comedies, however, still retained possession of the stage, and at length James II, having witnessed a representation of the "Plain Dealer," took pity on the author, and, besides paying his debts, settled on him an annuity of £200 per annum. It was probably about that time that Wycherley renewed his allegiance to the Church of Rome. The date of his conversion is not ascertained, but we may naturally infer that James II, intensely bigoted and with little literary culture, would be much better disposed to reward an accession to his faith than to honor literary merit.

The latter part of Wycherley life has little of importance to mark it beyond the fact of his intercourse with Pope. In 1704 he appeared before the public as the author of a volume of poems in the style of Rochester. But the age of Queen Anne was not that of Charles II. The work encountered the contempt that it deserved. The same year witnessed the commencement of his acquaintance with Pope. The latter was a youth of sixteen just commencing his literary career. At first he appears to have been delighted with the privilege of knowing the great dramatist of the Restoration, and he followed him with the devotion of a neophyte. Soon, however, this friendship came to a close. Wycherley, in his long seclusion, had not kept pace with the age. He was still the rake of Charles II's time, and though broken down in constitution and sighing for his lost beauty and vigor, his conversation and writings still breathed the tone of the monstrous profligacy of the Restoration. Pope, when called upon to correct and modify

his friend's writings, thought proper to do it so effectually that hardly any of the old stock remained. Wycherley's self-love naturally took offense, and the rising star soon found it convenient to break loose from the fading planet which was already on the verge of setting. One act of absurdity, however, remained for the poor dramatist to execute. Ten days before his death he married a young wife, avowedly for the purpose of disinheriting his nephew. He died in 1715, and was buried under the Church of St. Paul in Covent Garden.

At the present day it is impossible to read Wycherley's comedies without a sentiment of unqualified disgust—a disgust which is not softened by the evident pains which the author takes to impress us with the fact (or fiction) that he is portraying the morals and manners of the age, or at least of the age as it appeared to his patrons, the Duke of Buckingham and the Duchess of Cleveland. Manliness and sincerity, an amiable disposition and a genial nature are said to have rendered him generally beloved; and it is perhaps the severest censure on the moral tendency of the age that it should have so utterly corrupted a nature originally estimable.

As photographs of the time in which he wrote, Wycherley's comedies are of the utmost value. We have here reproduced the favorite haunts and amusements of the wits, beaux, and belles of society. The New Exchange (which appears to have been a sort of Arcade), the Parks, Mulberry Gardens, the French House, Westminster Hall with its Courts of law, neighbored by stalls and confectioner's booths, its suitors elbowed by fops, and morning loungers: the morning visits and evening rambles are all delineated with the pen of a Hogarth or Pepys. Even the Plague and the Fire—those terrible scourges which appear to us like the judgments of an offended Deity on the unparelled depravity of the nation, are mentioned with the familiarity of recent events and made the subject of jest and witticism. None of the comedians of antiquity have succeeded in so completely transporting us into the spirit of their time, and little as there be may in that spirit to admire, this fact will always endow Wycherley's plays for the student

of manners and customs with an interest altogether beyond their merits.

Macaulay has remarked that we pass a very severe censure on Wycherley, when we say that it is a relief to turn from him to Congreve. This stricture is just if we regard the simple question of decency. We do not generally find in Congreve's comedies the outspoken and rampant profligacy of Wycherley. Congreve wrote in an age when some slight regard was paid to decorum; when man's honor and woman's chastity were recognized and respected in the higher walks of life. Accordingly he very soon felt the necessity of adapting his style to the changed tone of society. Congreve wrote in the time of William and Mary. The Queen was eminently pious and of unblemished reputation. She had set the example of discountenancing the open display of vice at Court; and the King, though by no means pure in morals, was little inclined to obtrude his vices on the public eye. The stage, however, retained the tone which it had acquired in the time of the Restoration. Wycherley's comedies were still popular; and the theatre, the centre of wit and fashion, was also the chief exponent of the profligacy of the times. It was under these circumstances that Congreve first appeared as a playwright. His previous life presents little of interest. Born in 1670, and originally brought up in Ireland, he had acquired at the University of Dublin, a better education than was common to the men of his time. Like Wycherley, he undertook the study of the law and was entered at the Middle Temple; and like him, he paid little attention to his profession, but devoted himself to literature and society. His first comedy, "The Old Bachelor," which was produced in 1693, though far inferior to his subsequent productions, obtained a marked success. This was due partly to the exceptional brilliancy of the dialogue—an excellence in which Congreve far outshines his competitors, and indeed, most of his successors. But the great secret of its success was undoubtedly owing to the galaxy of genius which appeared in the cast. Betterton, Powell, Mrs. Barry, Mrs. Bracegirdle, Mrs. Mountford and Mrs. Bowman, were peculiarly qualified to do justice to the many brilliant passages they

had to recite; and it is said that when the four actresses appeared together on the stage in the last act, the audience were so struck with their beauty that they burst into a fervor of applause. In point of morality and decency, the "Old Bachelor," may be justly ranked with the worst of Wycherley's comedies; and it is probable that the author modelled his characters much more on the *dramatis persone* of his predecessor, than on his contemporaries. In fact, we may remark of the majority of Congreve's comedies—notably of his earlier ones—that notwithstanding the dazzling brilliancy which give them a charm on the stage, they are in one respect more disagreeable to read than even those of Wycherley. We allude to the utter heartlessness and cynicism, the total absence of everything like faith, honor or principle that characterizes them. Even Wycherley's profligacy is partially redeemed by a certain heartiness, a geniality and sympathy—the "touch of nature," which makes the whole world kin. Of this, Congreve has nothing. He is cold, cynical, heartless and skeptical. Not one of his characters seems capable of a moral sentiment or even of a human affection. Notwithstanding this fact the "Old Bachelor" was eminently successful; and although Congreve pretended that he had not intended it for the stage, and had only consented to its production at the importunity of friends, he was emboldened by its success to follow it up in the succeeding year with the "Double Dealer," which was produced at the same theatre—Drury Lane. The last comedy, far superior in wit and variety to the "Old Bachelor," was less favored by the public; for while willing to tolerate the representation of the vices of a past generation, it seems to have been revolted at an attempt to reproduce them in its own. There was something too offensive in the vices of Maskwell and Lady Touchwood—in the broad display of passions which recall the myths of Laius and Pelops—and even in the gratuitous immorality of Brisk and Careless, Lord and Lady Froth and Sir Paul and Lady Plyant. The artistic merits of the comedy however secured from the critics the admiration it failed to receive from the public. Queen Mary honored the play with her presence; and Dryden addressed the author the

celebrated epistle in which he extolled him beyond all dramatists, Shakspeare hardly excepted :

"Heaven that but once was prodigal before,
To Shakspeare gave as much, he could not give him more."

Notwithstanding the commendations of the critics, Congreve was deeply mortified at the want of popularity of the "Double Dealer," and that he shrewdly divined the cause is apparent from the improved tone of his next comedy, "Love for Love," which was produced in 1695. Betterton and some other actors, resenting the treatment which they received at Drury Lane, had obtained a patent for a new theatre, which was established at Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, and the theatre opened with Congreve's new play, "Love for Love." Though containing many passages and even entire scenes which have to be expunged on the modern stage, it is the only one of Congreve's comedies that is still occasionally performed; and those who have witnessed it will bear testimony to the charm which it possesses even in its mutilated form. In the character of Angelica, Congreve clearly yielded to the improved spirit of the times, which required at least respectability and dignity in the principal female characters. The surroundings were bad enough; but their position is properly subordinate, and they are held up to the censure of the spectators and receive poetical justice at the author's hands. Nothing can be more irresistible than the scene between Mrs. Foresight and Mrs. Frail—omitted in modern representations—where the would-be censor of her sister's morals unwittingly betrays herself :

Mrs. Fore.—"But look you here now, when did you lose this gold bodkin? Oh sister, sister!"

Mrs. Frail.—"Well, if you go to that, where did you find the bodkin? Oh sister, sister! sister every way.

Mrs. Fore.—(*aside*) "O, devil on't, that I could not discover her without betraying myself."—Act II. Scene 9.

It is curious in reading these comedies to observe how prevalent, even at the end of the seventeenth century, was the belief in omens and astrology. It is laughed at of course by the pretenders to wit and fashion; but it is perfectly clear that it maintained a firm hold even among the middle classes.

Foresight in this play, and Fondlewife in the "Old Bachelor," are instances of the extravagance of the belief which then prevailed—a belief which in modern times we should think almost impossible. When Foresight seriously remarks—

"As to the marriage, I have consulted the stars and all appearances are prosperous."—Act III. Scene 13.

And again,

"I am inclining to your Turkish opinion in this matter, and do reverence a man whom the vulgar think mad."—Act IV. Scene 12.

It is clear that we have here no caricature, but a genuine portrait of a popular delusion which only the more intelligent had yet learned to disown.* The success of "Love for Love" gratified the comedians so highly that they gave Congreve a share in the theatre, conditioned on his furnishing them a play every year "if his health were good enough." Of this condition he would appear to have availed himself, for he produced only two plays subsequently to his contract, namely, the "Mourning Bride," a tragedy which appeared in 1697, and met with a success altogether disproportioned to its merits if we compare it with the standard dramas of both past and subsequent periods, but not if estimated by the tragedies of contemporary dramatists; and the "Way of the World," which appeared in 1700. This, though generally considered the most brilliant and finished of his performances, did not meet with popular favor, and Congreve, disgusted with the want of appreciation of the public, withdrew irrevocably from the stage.

The unfavorable reception which the "Way of the World" encountered may have been partly owing to the reaction in popular sentiment occasioned by the appearance of Jeremy Collier's "Short View of the Profaneness and Immorality of the English Stage." Congreve had rendered the strictures of this work particularly applicable to himself by appearing in

*The character of Foresight was then common. Dryden calculated nativities, and Oliver Cromwell and King William had their lucky days, and Shaftesbury himself, although he had no religion, was said to regard predictions."—*Johnson*.

print as the defender of the contemporary drama, and as he had decidedly the worst of the controversy, his new comedy, which seemed written expressly in defiance of his antagonist, was received in a manner to indicate the current of public opinion.

The wit of the "Way of the World" is superior to that of any of even Congreve's comedies. Mirabel and Millamant are perfect sketches of the fine gentleman and lady of the times, and the other *dramatis personæ* are admirable portraits of manners if not of character. But the outspoken immorality, the utter heartlessness and the shameless manner in which witty profligacy is allowed to triumph over justice and decency were qualities to the hideousness of which the public attention had been too recently awakened for them to be overlooked; and that a comedy allowed to have been a marvel of wit and pungency should have been unable to vanquish objections which, but a short period since, would have been regarded as of no weight, is a strong proof of the good already effected by the energetic, though perhaps somewhat injudicious reformer.

We have not space to follow Congreve's personal career; his public appointments which elevated him suddenly from poverty to wealth; his flirtation or intrigue with Mrs. Bracegirdle, and his friendship for Henrietta, Duchess of Marlborough, to whom he bequeathed the bulk of his fortune. There is little in the life or writings of Congreve to interest us in the man or to lead us to desire a better acquaintance with him. As Lamb has justly remarked, "he has entirely excluded from his scenes not only anything like a faultless character, but any pretensions to goodness or good feelings whatsoever." His characters are heartless fine ladies and gentlemen, whose sole object is to say witty things to one another, and their intense artificiality renders it difficult to enjoy the perusal of his plays except as a collection of brilliant *bons mots*. It is for this reason not easy for a modern reader to do justice to Congreve. Only those who have witnessed a performance of "Love for Love" on the stage can form any idea of the fascination of his comedies when represented by gifted artists—the flash and sparkle which keep the attention alive at every moment, and the satisfaction with which audiences listen to the

dialogues of people for whom they really care nothing, merely from the brilliancy and point of their conversation.

Congreve, like Wycherley, made no scruple of borrowing scenes and incidents from the French drama. The scandal scene in the "Double Dealer," like that in the "Plain Dealer" of Wycherley, is taken from the "Misanthrope;" the scene between Valentine and Trapland, in "Love for Love," is almost a literal translation of that between Don Juan and Monsieur Dimanche, and the marriage in disguise of Tattle and Mrs. Frail, who are "tricked into one another" while intending to entrap Valentine and Angelica, is a reminiscence of La Fontaine's "Ragotin." It may be doubted, however, whether the English playgoers of Congreve's time were sufficiently familiar with the French stage to recognize or object to the plagiarisms.

When Vanbrugh first appeared as a dramatic author, Collier's "Short View" had not yet done its work; but the personal example afforded by Queen Mary and the increased influence obtained by the Puritan element since the Revolution had undoubtedly affected a considerable improvement in the tone of society. Virtue was recognized and respected, and vice, if tolerated, was no longer considered the chief qualification for social success. Of this changed tone Vanbrugh's comedies give us an unconscious reflection. In his very first comedy, the "Relapse," he has presented us with a high-minded and virtuous wife in Amanda, and he has shown an unconscious recognition of virtue in the "Provoked Wife." Nevertheless, we must confess that of all the four great comedians of the Restoration, we find Vanbrugh the most disagreeable. His comedies read like the productions of an ancient *roué*, who, not finding among the youth of the day materials equal to his conceptions, rakes up the reminiscences of his own youth and retails them for the delectation of the present generation, garnished with such sources as age and memory alone can supply.

"Fear not to unchain thy tongue,
Let thy scurvy fancies free,
What is loathsome to the young
Savors well to thee and me." *

* Tennyson's *Vision of Sin*.

Wycherley's license has the freshness of youth and the effervescence of a period when society may be said to have been in a state of immoral intoxication. Congreve's fine ladies and gentlemen are unreal, their heartlessness and profligacy does not shock us to the extent that the same vices would affect us in real life; for we feel as if they were mostly on the surface. But Vanbrugh's characters are real flesh and blood—genuine men and women—and very bad men and women too. They do not disregard virtue like the heroes and heroines of Wycherley; nor ignore its very existence like those of Congreve; they distinctly and emphatically recognize its existence, but only to treat it with contumely and derision. It is this element which gives to Vanbrugh's comedies a flavor peculiarly distasteful; that in them we find throughout a distinct recognition of the better qualities coupled with a deliberate and ostentatious preference of the worst.

And yet in a literary point of view Vanbrugh's comedies have their merits. There is a genuineness and vividness in his portraits which render them quite distinct from the flimsy, half-unreal creations of the comedians of his day. His dialogue has little of the brilliancy and none of the refinement of Congreve; but his incidents are conceived in the genuine spirit of fun: and his situations, atrocious as many of them are in point of taste, are irresistible in their power of mirth. We do not realize how any audience could have tolerated the scene in the "Provoked Wife," in which, while Mademoiselle describes an interview which she professes to have witnessed, Razor ventures to act out each incident as she relates it; or that in the same play where Sir John Brute, taken before a magistrate in the dress of a parson—in the revised version it is that of a woman—electrifies him by a display of drunken ribaldry and profanity; to say nothing of the closet scene in the "Relapse" and the interviews of Young Fashion and Coupler in the same comedy. But while we feel that they outrage every sense of decency, it is impossible to read them without amusement. In fact, Vanbrugh's great forte was his humor, which is displayed in sudden situations, unexpected and startling *dénouements* and ingenious develop-

ments of plot, which give his comedies an interest akin to the comedies of the present day.

If Vanbrugh were born in 1666, as is generally supposed, he must have been past thirty in 1697 when his first play, the "Relapse," was produced at Drury Lane. According to a stage tradition, it had been commenced some years previously, while the author was in the army, and was completed at the instance of a friend who had done him a pecuniary service; and, being one of the sharers in Drury Lane, was repaid for his advances by the success of the new play. The very conception of the "Relapse" is characteristic of the traits which we have already remarked in Vanbrugh. Some few years previously, Colly Cibber had produced a play entitled "Love's last Shift," of which the subject was the reclamation of a dissolute husband through the devotion of a faithful wife. Vanbrugh took the reformed husband to London, and carried him back to his old vices. We know of no play (not even the "Plain Dealer" of Wycherley) in which the worst side of human nature is brought into more hideous and painful relief. Amid all, however, Amanda stands forth nobly, and, did she possess a little more delicacy and refinement, might be compared with the Lady in Milton's *Masque*, encompassed by the rabble of *Comus*. But unlike her prototype, though she passes through the ordeal with honor unscathed, it is at the expense of a broken heart and a future hopelessly blighted. The characters and incidents of the underplot are more agreeable. Lord Foppington, Young Fashion, Sir Tunbelly Clumsy, and Miss Hoyden, though not in the least estimable, are highly amusing; and as we have really too little regard for any of them to care who wins or loses the game which is kept up among them, the changes and chances which give the advantage now to one and then to the other are thoroughly diverting. Sheridan improved the comedy in his altered version entitled, "A Trip to Scarborough," in which he gave the prominence to the Foppington party, and besides withdrawing *Loveless*, the hero of the "Relapse" into the background, invented a *dénouement* for his flirtation with *Berinthia*, much more harmless and therefore more agreeable than Vanbrugh's original conception.

Vanbrugh attempted to elevate the "Relapse" to the dignity of the Elizabethan comedy by commencing to write it in blank verse; but the attempt was so evidently a failure that he soon abandoned it. Nothing can, in fact, be made more halting or more inharmonious than the attempted versification of Vanbrugh; it displays ignorance of the first principles of the art, and, if persisted in, must infallibly have ruined his comedies for the stage.

The comedy of the "Relapse" proved extremely popular, and Lincoln's-Inn-Fields vied with Drury Lane in securing the services of the author. It was the former of these theatres that obtained the privilege of bringing out his second comedy, the "Provoked Wife," which appeared in 1698. This comedy is a disagreeable picture of sottishness and grossness in the hero, Sir John Brute and his companions, which it may be hoped is at present extinct, although Thackeray's Sir Pitt Crawley would lead us to infer that Sir John has still some descendants living, though fortunately not equally outrageous with himself. The gratuitous malice and falsehood of Lady Fancyful are equally unpleasing, and we find little more to respect in Constant or Heartfree, Lady Brute or Belinda. Still, the "Provoked Wife" contains scenes of unusual drollery, which, to an audience not particularly refined or fastidious, must have been irresistible. It was at Drury Lane in the same year that Vanbrugh produced "Æsop"—a species of moral satire adapted from the French of Boursault, but which was conspicuously unsuccessful. Its dry and didactic tone had probably more to do with the indifference of the audience than its absurd anachronisms introducing individuals with English names and manners into the antechamber of an ancient Athenian Sage. It is difficult to account for the presence of Mr. and Mrs. Fruitful, Hobson, Roger, Mrs. Forgewill and Sir Polidoras Hogstye in Cyprus so many centuries B.C.; but the audiences of the seventeenth century would no doubt have overlooked this misconception had they found the play in other respects amusing.

In 1702 Vanbrugh produced the "False Friend," a comedy of intrigue in the Spanish style, and entirely out of his usual

manner. This same year witnessed his first success as an architect—the design of Castle Howard in Yorkshire, the seat of Charles, third Earl of Carlisle. On the strength of his double success as author and architect, Sir John organized among his acquaintances a subscription for a new theatre, of which he was himself to be the architect, and Betterton the principal performer, while the dramas enacted were to be the composition of himself and Congreve. Unfortunately, the ambition of the architect outran the experience of the playwright. The theatre was so large and cavernous that the actors' voices were utterly lost, and the situation was so far to the west that it was almost inaccessible for pit and gallery audiences. The fortunes of the theatre were not to be sustained even by the production of Vanbrugh's best comedy, the "Confederacy."

This comedy has been so highly lauded by the critics that it is hardly necessary to speak of it at great length. For variety of incident, oddity of situation and theatrical effect generally it is unrivalled; but it is, after all, a simple apotheosis of successful knavery. From Dick Amlet and Brass, the master spirits of the game, down to Corinna, the unsophisticated maiden, but "a devil of a girl at the bottom," the *dramatis personæ* are a group of outspoken tricksters, each trying his or her best to outwit the others, and finally getting rewarded instead of punished for their frauds. It is in fact characteristic of Vanbrugh's comedies that knavery and treachery are always successful. The laugh in every case is on the side of the trickster.

Even the popularity of the "Confederacy" did not render the new theatre a success. Congreve very soon deserted it, and left the task of sustaining it to Vanbrugh, who exerted himself so far as to produce in one season three adaptations from Molière. He finally abandoned the speculation, and with it his career as a dramatic author. Some time afterwards he translated a slight French comedy, the "Country House," and at his death left unfinished an original new play, the "Journey to London," neither of which materially add to his literary reputation.

The remainder of Vanbrugh's life was devoted to archi-

teecture, in which he achieved a great pecuniary success, notwithstanding his litigation with the Duchess of Marlborough on the subject of Blenheim Palace, and the sarcasms which his ponderous style generally elicited. Of these the most familiar is the epitaph by Dr. Evans, in the following words:

" Under this stone, reader, survey
Dead Sir John Vanbrugh's house of clay;
Lie heavy on him, earth! for he
Laid many a heavy a load on thee."

This was true in more senses than the epigrammatist intended; for heavier even than the physical was the moral load which Vanbrugh laid on the souls of his contemporaries; and if, as the "Confederacy" intimates, the city magnates of his day prided themselves on imitating and even exaggerating the vices of the Court of Charles II, under the impression that they were thus acquiring the tone of fashionable life, it is to Vanbrugh and his fellow playwrights that no small portion of the fatal lesson is to be ascribed.

It is a genuine relief to turn from these dramatists to Farquhar: for whatever of taste or refinement may be wanting in the productions of this writer, in his comedies we emerge into a healthy moral atmosphere, entirely different from the perverted one of his predecessors. Farquhar, in fact, gives us very much such an impression of the morals and manners of Queen Anne's reign as is presented by Addison and Steele; an age certainly not remarkable for cultivation or refinement among the masses of the people, but sound in morals, kindly in sentiment, and sincere in veneration for religion and truth. In these respects, Queen Anne's reign compares favorably not only with its predecessors, but with those of the first two Georges, who succeeded her. Farquhar is a writer of unbounded animal spirits, a mercurial temperament, quick and earnest sympathies, and abundant powers of invention. On the other hand, he has little real insight into character, and none of the high-bred tone indispensable in delineations of society and manners. Even his ladies and gentlemen are chiefly remarkable for a certain pertness and flippancy of language which vulgarizes the tone of his best comedies. Yet are they

more agreeable than Congreve's or Vanbrugh's. The excesses of his men about town, and even the frauds of his adventurers appear to be the result of overflowing spirits and the love of good fellowship rather than of perverted instincts or vicious principles; and when emergencies occur to develop them, their heart is always found to be in the right place. In one instance—Lady Lurewell—he has drawn a heartless and abandoned woman of quality; but the sympathies of the piece are entirely against her; and if she escapes more favorably than she deserves, we can see that it is only because in her case strict poetical justice would be inconsistent with the spirit of comedy.

We have left ourselves space but for a cursory review of Farquhar's comedies; but this is the less to be regretted as his plays still keep possession of the stage and are better known than those of his predecessors. "Love and a Bottle," produced at Drury Lane in 1698, is the poorest. The "pert, low dialogue," for which the author has been censured, is particularly conspicuous in this play; the incidents are extravagant, and are only partially redeemed by the picturesque *dénouement*. The "Constant Couple," produced in 1700, and its sequel, "Sir Harry Wildair," in the following year, are much better. Sir Harry is an admirable creation. Reckless and dissipated, but not altogether profligate or unfeeling, we see in his worst periods a germ of excellence in his devotion to the memory of his wife, (supposed deceased), and we part with him in full confidence that Angelica's return will ensure his effectual reformation. Lady Lurewell is more like a French *lorette* than an Englishwoman of quality, but we feel there is some palliation for her career in the early blight cast on her youth. We hope the best for her for poor Standard's sake, but feel no confidence in the duration of her repentance. The "Inconstant," is a prose version of Fletcher's "Wild Goose Chase."* This comedy is still occasionally acted, and is always popular. The "Twin Rivals," contains

* It has the brilliancy and vivacity of the original without the poetic beauty; but the *dénouement*, taken from an incident in actual life, is altogether an improvement on Fletcher.

too much heartless villainy to be agreeable; but the villainy prospers only for a time, and satisfactory poetical justice is done at the conclusion. The "Recruiting Officer," and the "Beaux Stratagem," are the best of Farquhar's comedies, and are still favorites on the stage. In these plays we escape altogether from the tainted London atmosphere, and enjoy the genuine English country life. The moral tone of the "Recruiting Officer" is certainly not very high; and even in the "Beaux Stratagem" Mrs. Sullen's honor is almost too narrowly saved to accord with our modern ideas of propriety.

With the accession of the house of Hanover a change was gradually effected in the style of theatrical entertainments. A taste for the melodramatic German school was developed; for intricate plots, stirring incidents and strong situations; also for sentimental heroes and heroines and a strongly enforced moral. Consequently, although the comedies of Wycherley, Congreve, Vanbrugh and Farquhar continued to be performed, their style was no longer popular among dramatic authors, and the artificial comedy proper may be said to have terminated with Farquhar, although Sheridan, more than half a century later, revived its spirit, though divested of its grossness, in the "Rivals," the "School for Scandal," and the "Trip to Scarborough." When we consider its general tendencies, the disappearance of the artificial comedy is not to be regretted. It elevated vice into the dignity of a fine art; it stifled the nobler sentiments of our nature and gave currency to those the most degrading; it invited the middle and lower classes to the practice of profligacy and knavery, by presenting these qualities as the characteristics of their superiors, and rendered the theatre, which should be a school of morals and manners, the medium of the foulest corruption. When we read these plays we are at no loss to comprehend the traditional horror in which many conscientious people, even in our own day, regard everything connected with the stage. At the same time, we feel that the artificial comedy, like all other institutions, has its recognized place in literature and history. We can read it with interest, feeling that in its very literalness and freedom of speech it brings us into closed communion with those of a

by-gone age, and tells us that of their daily life which no professed writer on manners and morals could have done so well. It has done more; for in the dramas which have been preserved to our own time, we have not only a description but a *fac simile* of the manners of our ancestors. In acting comedy, each generation of artists, copying the manners and deportment of their predecessors, we have the minutest peculiarities of dress and manner, as it were, photographed. We see how our ancestors dressed, walked and sat; what ceremonies they practised on salutation and leave-taking, and all the little details which no mere writer of history could catch, and of which no description could convey a full idea. For these reasons the remains of the old artificial comedies have a title to a place in our libraries, and to the perusal of all for whom the study of the real life of the past possesses an interest.

- ART. V.—1. *Grammar of Ornament*. By OWEN JONES. London. 1868.
2. *Principles of Decorative Design*. By CHRISTOPHER DRESSER. London. 1872.
3. *Manual of Design*. By RICHARD REDGRAVE, R. A. London. 1876.
4. *Art Education*. By WALTER SMITH. Boston. 1872.
5. *Modern Art Education. Its Practical and Aesthetic Character, Educationally Considered*. By Prof. JOSEPH LANGL. Vienna. *Being part of the Official Report on the Vienna World's Fair, 1873. Translated with Notes.* By S. R. KOEHLER. *With an American Preface.* By CHARLES B. STETSON. Boston. 1875.

"No wonder God made a world to express his thought! Who that has a soul for beauty does not feel the need of creating and that the power of creation alone can satisfy the spirit? When I thus reflect, the artist seems the only fortunate man." Thus wrote Margaret Fuller, and in these few words she gives expression to the very soul of art.

This need is universal; every one will recognize it as a motive more or less strong in his own life—the need to create, the desire to stamp upon something in this world the seal of his individual thought and effort. This it is which leads men in all conditions of life—even the savage and barbarous nations—after having satisfied the physical wants, to turn at once to the ornamentation of their dwellings, their weapons and implements. It is this longing of the human heart after the infinite; this need to create as God creates; this love of nature, His work, and the desire to imitate it, which has produced art—perhaps we might better say, which is art.

Although the same fundamental principles underlie both the fine arts and the industrial arts, it will be well for us to distinguish clearly between them. Both depend upon Nature, the great lawgiver; both, if worthy the name of art, embody and

express an idea; yet the application of these laws is different in the two cases, as the idea expressed is different. In the fine arts, as for instance a picture, the effort is to present to us a truth in nature through the medium of another mind, to embody a living thought, to appeal to our intellect, our sentiment, our affection; and it does appeal to us, as material nature never does, for it is nature brought near to us through the sympathy of human minds. The fine arts are the loving interpreters of nature's truths: this is their office and mission. And let it be here understood that mere copying of nature is not art. As one of our most eloquent art writers has said, "so degrading a thing is deception even in the approach or appearance of it, that all painting which even reaches the mark of apparent realization is degraded in so doing." *

Another art writer says: "Each and every art has its own mode of rendering nature—not necessarily implying *deception* or complete imitation; thus, for instance, the art of sculpture is a generalized imitation of form, and even the painter of high art does not desire to make his picture deceptively imitative, but listens with impatience to the remarks of the ignorant, who are apt to praise his work for this quality above others proper to it which they do not understand." †

In the ages of the past, when art reached its highest development among the Egyptians and the Greeks; in the days of Raphael and Michael Angelo, both in fine art and ornamental art, it was always a *representation* of nature—an interpretation, never servile copying. Mere imitation, mere copying of nature, or copying of other styles or other works, without the inspiring motive of the original, has ever marked decline in art. Industrial art, on the other hand, is that art which shapes to forms of beauty our houses, fabrics, and all our articles of daily use; that art which first shapes the constructive form, then ornaments, embellishes, enriches, thus bringing the spirit of the beautiful into our daily lives and occupations.

* Ruskin. *Seven Lamps*, p. 31.

† *Manual of Design*, compiled from the writings and addresses of Richard Redgrave, R. A., p. 73.

Prof. Smith defines *industrial drawing* as a term which "may be taken to include instruction in such branches of drawing as will make all those engaged in industrial occupations better workmen, through the improvement of their knowledge and elevation of their taste." *

Something of the difference between fine art and industrial art will be understood by considering the difference in their leading motives. In fine art the motive is to express an idea, to embody a thought; in industrial art the first motive must ever be *use* and *fitness*. First of all must be considered the utility of the object designed or ornamented, otherwise it becomes a hinderance and an annoyance, rather than a joy and pleasure. The ornament may be as ideal and poetical as possible—the more so the better—but it must ever be subordinate to the idea of use. And any ornament which interferes with use is untrue to the leading motive. "Ornament is essentially the accessory to, and not the substitute for, the useful." †

At the present day, especially in this country, there seems to prevail an idea that only those can be artists—that is, painters and sculptors—who possess *genius*, which is regarded as some mysterious inborn power; but that any one can be an architect or an ornamental decorator. It is thought to require no unusual power and but little study to design patterns for the various manufactured goods, scarcely one of which, from our carpets and furniture, articles of dress, etc., down to our spoons and forks, but is embellished in some way intended to beautify it. That which is popular, that which is fashionable, or which for the time seems, to our uneducated taste, to be pretty is considered all-sufficient, and will be so considered until the general public, those who buy and use as well as those who supply, are educated to discern between the truly beautiful and artistic, and that which merely pleases on account of its novelty or startling effect.

Many think that any one can fulfill the requirements of art applied to industry. The truth is, but little has been

* *Art Education.* By Walter Smith, p. 11.

† *Analysis of Ornament.* By R. N. Wornum, p. 9.

thought about it until lately, when world's fairs and centennial exhibitions have brought the works of different nations into close comparison and competition. We forget that in days gone by no less an artist than Michael Angelo considered it no degradation of his great talent or his much loved art to become the architect of St. Peter's, and still more, to paint its walls with those wonderful frescoes which are the admiration of mankind. Indeed, during the middle ages and later in the time of the Renaissance, the artist and the designer were identical. The great German, Italian and Flemish artists were alike the painters of the altar-pieces and the frescoes of the churches. They were also the designers of the furniture for churches and palaces; the designers of the chalices, the reliquaries and even the robes of the priests.

In those days not only the design for the work but the work itself was done by hand, and, in a great measure, by the artists themselves. But since the use of machinery, the manufacturer has arisen, and designing has been left in many countries to another, and, we fear, in many cases, to an inferior class of artists.* Many fail to realize that manufacture by machinery should give new motives and new opportunities to the designer. It is to be regretted that the various departments of art are so separated as they are in the present day. We need far more of the ideal and poetical element of the fine arts in our design. It is true the present state of things requires that the world's work should be divided between a great number of people; but the specialist, while devoting of necessity (for art is long, and life is short), the greater part of his time to his own department, ought to gain all that he can of those kindred arts which must, more or less, enter into his own. And, until we learn to regard all art, even that of the decorator and designer, more reverently, as worthy of the best power God has given to man, and to comprehend the spirit of genius more intelligently, the fine arts must ever remain to us a mystery, and we shall continue to degrade the ornamental arts to a mere trade or craft.

* Vide *Manual of Design*, p. 155.

The various styles of art and their modifications have grown up from different causes. Here and there through all the ages have arisen stronger minds with a more intense need and a keener perception of nature's laws, which are the laws of the great Artist, the Creator of all, and they have influenced and led those about them, and stamped upon their works and the works of others the individuality of their own great minds. The styles have also been influenced by climate, by the national temperament, and more than all perhaps by that which was of most vital interest to them at the time, as religion; indeed, religion, probably more than anything else has been the inspiration in forming the peculiarities of the various styles in art. In all ages, wealth has been lavished on temples, churches, and cathedrals. Upon nothing else has been expended so much labor and so much of the best art. It was natural that the sentiments of the prevailing religion should have been the inspiring motive in the form and ornamentation of the places consecrated to their use, whether it expressed itself in the hieroglyphics of the Egyptians, in the purely æsthetic aspirations of the Greeks, who ever strove "to arrive at a perfection worthy of the gods"; in the conventional forms and tracery of the Mahommedans; or in the Gothic, and other forms of the Christian styles.

Before the days of railroads, steamboats and telegraphs, when the means of communication between the different nations and peoples were far more limited, the arts were shaped much more by local influences or by the leading minds in each country. Each age and each nation had a style of art peculiar to itself, a style which was the outgrowth of its own peculiar temperament and character, and its particular stage of civilization. We see to-day that the works of China and Japan, the countries slowest to yield to the pressure for commercial intercourse, are markedly different from the modern works of other nations. There will always be marked characteristics and national peculiarities in the work of different countries, certainly in anything worthy the name of national art; but the tendency of the intimate relations of the present day, the influence of world's fairs in bringing together the works of various nations

is to lead us to inquire: What has formed this or that peculiar style? And we naturally look back of the work to learn what influences, and, more than all, what manner of art-education has led to the given result. *Art-Science* is the phrase which has been applied to the comparatively modern study of styles, of motives which have developed styles, and of the laws of art generally. A great deal of the best art has undoubtedly been in one sense, inspired, yet in no mysterious sense; the greatest masters have been the greatest workers, the most diligent in study, for as Klesmer says, in *Daniel Deronda*,: "Genius at first is little more than a great capacity for receiving discipline;" and art science is showing us more and more, every day, that although much of art must be an expression of the individual heart and mind, it must come from a *feeling* for art, as it is termed; yet the heart and mind may be educated to love and perceive art, and the feeling awakened and intensified by training. Even those who are undoubtedly inspired of genius, so far as genius ever is an inspiration, are consciously or unconsciously governed by certain laws and principles—laws and principles which may be studied and learned. Art-Science is developing for us the ways and methods of art education; and the people of America who have developed the public school system, are the people who will know how wisely and well to engraft upon it the roots of that branch of education which more than anything else can prepare them to compete successfully with older nations in the commercial contests which are undoubtedly to be the chief contests of coming years.

Very few people on this side of the Atlantic have realized the great importance of art education until within a few years. We, the youngest nation, have of necessity devoted a large part of our first century of national existence to subduing a new country and establishing a new government. A large proportion of our people have been engaged in agriculture and the mechanical arts, others in the building of cities and the various practical pursuits necessary for the establishment and maintenance of a new country and nationality. For many years, also, the energy as well as the lives of a large number of the noblest of our population has been given to one of the greatest

civil wars the world has known. Nevertheless, many mighty results have been accomplished, and now come days of peace—days, also, in which the means for providing the necessities and many of the luxuries of our national life are more than assured. The time has never been in the history of the world when all these things could be accomplished with so little manual labor as in America to-day. For, if we add to our rich inheritance of experience from other nations, all the labor-saving machines, for the invention of which America has so eminently distinguished herself, we shall see that all the rude labor of agriculture, manufacture, etc., has never before been accomplished on such a magnificent scale with so little manual labor. David A. Wells claims that in the United States, since 1860, the average gain to the power of production has not been less than fifteen to twenty per cent.; and to prove this statement to be within reasonable limits, he refers to the fact that it is within this time that “the very great improvements in machinery adapted to agriculture have come into general use; that where, a few years ago, men on the great plains of the West cut grain with the cradle and sickle, toiling from early dawn to dewy eve, in the hottest period of the year, the same work may be done now almost as a matter of recreation, the director of a mechanical reaper entering the field behind a pair of horses, with gloves on his hands and an umbrella over his head, and in this style finishing the work in one-tenth of the time formerly required, and in a manner much more satisfactory.”*

We cannot think the inventive genius of our people is yet exhausted. Nor can we doubt that the proportion of production to manual labor will continue to increase; but even now, witness the result: many are standing idle in the market place; but few are required to do the work and consequently but few get the places or the pay. What, therefore, shall be done with all this surplus energy? What shall be done to provide honest work and adequate pay for the many who justly demand it? Our answer is, *Art education*. This has ever been the case

* From an address by David A. Wells, before the American Social Science Association, at Detroit, May 11, 1875.

when the physical necessities are satisfied and the necessary and practical affairs of life attended to: the energies of man being still unexhausted, his next step in the natural order of progress is *Art*.

Prof. Joseph Langl says of America, in his official report on the Vienna World's Fair of 1873, that "so long as America is in her development, so long as the material aims of life are the only concern of her people, and so long as all the energies of the country are devoted to these aims, there can be no thought of ideal aspirations. And whenever anything of the kind is proposed, the attempt is limited to the continuation of traditions brought over from Europe. But these traditions are more likely to wither than to flourish in so strange an atmosphere. The productions of America in art, and especially in sculpture, are of European origin. Industry is bent upon usefulness, rather than upon artistic beauty, and individuality of taste is as yet out of the question. The leading cities of Europe will have to satisfy the wants of luxury in America for some time to come."^{*}

This has undoubtedly been true in the past, but is not the day near at hand when we shall have in this country sufficient interest and energy, in excess of that required to supply the material wants of life, to take another step upward and onward? Is this not sufficiently evident from the crowding of all the present avenues for work and occupation, and the number of persons who are vainly looking everywhere for employment? More education, and particularly art education, is undoubtedly the next step for us. Provide those who are unemployed with the ability to do that which cannot now be done in this country except by foreign educated artisans and workmen, and you will add at once to the material wealth of the country, as well as to its intellectual good, individually and collectively.

It may be argued that many of those who are now out of employment would make very poor artisans or art workmen,

^{*} *Modern Art Education*. By Professor Joseph Langl, of Vienna. Being part of the Austrian official report on the Vienna World's Fair of 1873.

even if educated. This may be true regarding individuals; but when we as a people have become educated in the general principles of art, those who are suited to do the art work will advance to it, and leave other occupations to those of other endowments.

Prof. Langl still further says that, "taste can only be educated by means of well organized Museums and thorough instruction in art in the schools; but in both these particulars America is still upon the lowest stage." But the time has come for us to put forth serious effort to remedy this defect. Its importance to our national welfare is too obvious for comment. We can now produce all the corn, raw cotton, etc., for which we can find a market; we can also supply in rude manufactures, or in manufactures requiring only ordinary mechanical dexterity, all and more than the demand, and also at the lowest price. Our products are not wanting in quantity: What now can we do to improve their quality, to make them compete successfully in the markets of the world? This country is not destined to be as Japan and China have been, exclusive and isolated; indeed, the time for such exclusiveness is fast passing away even for them. Commercial intercourse of nations is becoming more intimate and reciprocal every day, and it is in the markets of the world and in competition with those of other nations that our products and manufactures must be brought. And where our national prosperity as well as our national reputation is at stake, it will not do for us to depend on our Yankee wit alone, nor on a policy of *laissez-faire*.

In this broad and varied competition, the truly excellent will soon be sifted from the unworthy and meretricious. And it should be remembered that it is the *art quality* of our manufactures, far more than the material used, or mere manual dexterity, which will determine their comparative excellence. Charles Stetson forcibly observes that, "The different governments realize that henceforth national supremacy must depend more upon industrial supremacy; and so for this peaceful warfare, not the less real because bloodless, each is arming itself with the best weapons that art and science can furnish. In the camp, soldiers are drilled no less than of old; but in the schools,

children and youth are trained with a direct view to labor, as they never were trained before. Of all things, the pencil is recognized as the most efficient ally of the needle-gun. While the latter wins victories on the field of carnage, the former wins them in great industrial tournaments that bring together the rival products of the whole working world. In the one case it is a battle of bullets, in the other a battle of forms; and Europe has learned that provision should be made no less against defeat in the battle of forms than in the battle of bullets."*

Intelligence and culture are, then, the elements of most worth to the individual or to the nation; and so a manufactured article which has cost the least in material, and has employed the greatest amount of intelligence in its artistic construction and ornamentation, has added most to the wealth of the world. There is hardly any limit to the value which taste can add to any object regardless of the cost of the crude material. R. N. Wornum, in his *Analysis of Ornament*, very truly says: "In early stages of manufacture, it is mechanical fitness that is the object of competition. As society advances, it is necessary to combine elegance with fitness; and those who cannot see this, must be content to send their wares to the ruder markets of the world, and resign the great marts of commerce to men of superior taste and sounder judgment, who *deserve* a higher reward. This is no new idea. Let us take a lesson from the experience of past ages. The vari-colored glass of Egypt, the figured cups of Sidon, the shawls of Miletus, the terra-cottas of Samos, the bronzes of Corinth, did not command the markets of the ancient world, either for their materials or for their mechanical qualities; not because they were well-blown, cleverly chased, finely woven, ingeniously turned, or perfectly cast—these qualities they had in common with the similar wares of other nations—but in the gratification of one of the most refined necessities of the mind in an advanced social state, they were preëminent—they were objects of an elegant cultivated taste. It is by this æsthetic character alone, that manufactur-

*American Preface to *Modern Art Education*.

ers will ever establish that substantial renown which will insure a lasting market in the civilized world."

It is evident from this why French goods are so universally admired and sought, as well in European countries as in America. Why France, particularly in articles of dress, is admitted to be the standard of taste,—because of the superior art-culture and refinement displayed in all her goods and manufactures. Not that the French, as a people, are endowed by nature with more genius; not that they were born originally with a keener perception of the beautiful than the people of other countries, but because for centuries they have fostered and cultivated the artistic taste and skill, not only of their designers and artisans, but all classes of their people by art schools and Museums. As has been truly said, her drawing schools form the true basis of her wealth and prosperity. If it were necessary to multiply examples, it might be said that while we have cotton, and cotton manufactories in such abundance in this country, we prefer the more beautiful calicoes and cambrics of France and England. American ladies have been accused of affectation in the purchase of foreign rather than domestic goods. It is considered by some as a whim of fashion that they prefer to have their hats from Paris; their laces from Brussels; their shawls from India. But however much some may be influenced in this regard by fashion, there is a better and truer reason for this preference. And when American goods are equal to foreign goods in quality and beauty, the fact will be recognized in the purchase of our home products, for surely our people—even our fashionable ladies—are not slow to recognize our own merit.

It is a significant fact in this connection, that in 1870, the total value of the cotton goods manufactured in the United States, was \$177,489,739, while the cost of the raw material is estimated at \$100,000,000. It will be seen that the manufacturer added to the value much less than the cost of the cotton. In England, on the other hand, the value added by the manufacturer is much more than the cost of the raw material. Thus in the same year, their cotton manufactures yielded \$447,096,000, of which the raw material cost \$202,296,000.

And it must be remembered that cotton costs more there than it does here, and the labor *in manufacture much less*.*

What, then, was it that added so much to the value of English goods over the cost of the raw material? Artistic skill and taste. But must articles of luxury, and things of beauty continue to be furnished America by other countries, while she sends them in return cotton, corn, wheat and tobacco? Must she continue to import the products of skill and art, and export only the products of the soil and ruder manufactures? Will the people of the United States be content to remain as they now are by general consent at the foot of all the civilized nations of the earth in the art qualities of their manufactures? We trust not.

Again, consider the cost of transportation. Charles Stetson has estimated it would require 19,000,000 bushels of Illinois corn to pay for three kinds of skilled artistic manufactures imported to America in 1873 from little Switzerland alone. The goods were watches, embroidered goods, silk and silk goods to the value of \$9,839,464, at the place of shipment. How much less the cost in transporting these goods than the immense amount of corn (if the payment were made in corn), required to balance the account!

The political economy of art education is a question of great magnitude, and one which the limit of this article admits of but few suggestions.

Another important point, however, must not be overlooked, viz., the value to woman of art education, particularly of industrial art. It opens many new avenues of employment to her, the number of which has been always too limited for the many who, with refined and delicate natures, are obliged to earn the means of their own support, and who wish to find in their labor itself some pleasure and satisfaction beside the dollars it brings to them.

Prof. Walter Smith testifies warmly to the natural fitness of women for these occupations. After recommending the education and employment of women as teachers of art, he

* Vide *Modern Art Education*, p. 25.

says: "There are also many branches of art workmanship requiring delicate fingers and native readiness of taste, which could be better performed by women than men. It seems to me that an infinite amount of good would be done by opening up the whole field of art instruction and art industry to the gentler sex, and I do hope that whenever a great scheme of art education is founded, either here or elsewhere, there shall be absolutely no distinction made concerning the eligibility or disqualification of sex in the students."* He also says, in speaking of the school at South Kensington, England, that there are more lady pupils than men, and that "the success of the lady pupils, to put it in the very mildest form, is greater than that of the male students, and this in the face of infinitely greater difficulties arising from limitations of subjects of study," etc.

In speaking of the school at South Kensington, we are led to the consideration of the new movement in favor of art education in England, Germany, France and other countries. At the first Universal Exposition in London in 1851, England found herself below all other European countries in the production of manufactures involving taste; and the United States alone stood below her. She immediately put forth the most strenuous efforts to remedy this deficiency. The government made the most munificent expenditures; they formed a new section in the Privy Council under the name of the Science and Art Department, which had for its object the furtherance of science and art applied to industry. The South Kensington Museum was established in 1852, at an original cost of six millions of dollars, and an annual grant from the government of five hundred thousand dollars. This is not only a museum, but a school, and the head centre of art education in England. It gives instruction in fine art and industrial art, and educates free of cost those who are thought to possess special fitness for art matters. They also established throughout the kingdom, in all the important industrial towns, art schools for instruction in drawing, modeling and designing. These schools are supported

* *Art Education*, p. 29.

partly by the government and partly by local authorities and fees. In 1872 they numbered 122, and were attended by 22,845 students, beside the 765 at South Kensington. They had also 538 evening classes for instruction in drawing to artisans.*

At the second Universal Exposition in London in 1862, the art manufacture of England showed a marked advancement. The progress had been so rapid, so much had been accomplished in so short a time that even France began to look to her laurels. "The following year the emperor appointed a large and able commission, which were divided into sections, to investigate the subject of technical education in particular. In 1865, this commission submitted an elaborate report, showing what the situation was at home and in all parts of Europe. They declared that *drawing, with all its applications to the different industrial arts, should be considered as the principal means to be employed in technical instruction.*" They made various other recommendations, which were acted upon at once by the government, "and the art instruction of France, which had so long been the best in Europe for industrial purposes, was in various points reconstructed and made better still."†

Germany also, notwithstanding her military exigencies during this period of art revival elsewhere, has not neglected her drawing schools. Immediately after the war with France, the authorities of the various industrial towns of Prussia were called upon, in a circular issued by the Ministers of Commerce and Industry, to follow the example of France in the organization of drawing and industrial schools, and their attention was directed to the industrial importance of these schools, and to the fact that they form the true basis of the wealth of France. Regulations in regard to teachers of free-hand drawing and modeling in the industrial schools were prepared at the same time."‡

In Austria the movement in favor of art education is even

* Vide *Modern Art Education*.

† *Modern Art Education*, p. 7.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

more marked. The Museum of Art and Industry at Vienna is similar to the South Kensington Museum in England, and exerts an equally beneficial influence over the other schools of the country. But it is needless to speak of each country; the impulse has been universal throughout all Europe within the last twenty-five or thirty years, and everywhere the most generous provision is being made by the various governments, and new art schools, new museums and new regulations are everywhere established. These movements have been observed by a few thoughtful, practical men in this country, who in Massachusetts petitioned the Legislature to take action in the matter for that State, and in May, 1870, a law was passed including drawing among the branches which are required to be taught in the public schools, and requiring every city or town with over 10,000 inhabitants to provide annually for free instruction in industrial drawing. A few years later, or in 1875, a similar law relative to drawing in public schools, was passed in the State of New York. In Massachusetts the law was acted upon at once, and Professor Walter Smith, a graduate of South Kensington and for many years art master at Leeds, England, came over and was placed at the head of this department, with the title of State Director of Art Education. His efforts have been untiring, and the work in the public schools of the State have been most effectually organized. That a great deal has already been accomplished, even in this short time, in the public schools, the industrial schools (mostly evening schools), and the Normal Art School, organized in 1873 for the purpose of training art teachers, no one will doubt who visits their annual exhibitions in Boston.

But we must remember that art is like a plant, of slow growth. With our most generous and earnest effort, and that wisely and judiciously directed, it will require many years to produce the ripe fruits of a national art. Not that we may not have marked improvement in our work within a few years; but as yet only a small number of our people realize the urgency of the situation, and when they are sufficiently alive to that, there must come long years of art training before our goods, our manufactures, and everything in which taste is or

may be involved, will show as the work of an artistically cultured people.

A great deal has been said by the enthusiastic for drawing in public schools, about draughting, designing, &c., in a way to lead the careless observer to suppose that special training in these departments in the public schools is desirable. This is not the idea or intention of those most judicious in art education; on the contrary, their aim is to give in elementary schools the first laws and principles of art, with sufficient practice to lay the foundation upon which the specialties of any of the various art pursuits may afterwards be built.

Public schools, private schools, or seminaries intended for general education can never take the place of art schools; but while the pupil is young, and his taste and character forming, he should be set in the right course in art as well as in other branches of education. It is impossible for any one to foretell what will be the taste or peculiar fitness of any child; but whether he is destined to become employed in art, or in matters in any way pertaining to art industry, he has, for his own individual good, just as strong a claim for the education of his taste and the correct formation of his artistic perception, as he has for the cultivation of his mathematical or scientific powers. He should learn the elements of art as he should learn the elements of arithmetic; and when he has chosen his vocation, he should receive special training for it in special schools.

With regard to the private schools and seminaries, patronized by the wealthier classes, it may be argued that many of their pupils, particularly girls, will not be obliged to follow any pursuit except for pleasure. But if it is not considered as a bread-earning element, is it not an element of vital importance in general culture? Is not the taste of the wealthy, who have the spending of large fortunes, worth cultivating? A great deal has been said about the lack of taste displayed in our architecture, particularly in our public buildings, also, in the furnishing of our houses. It is said that we spend large sums of money in foreign purchases which will not bear the test of art criticism. Would this be so, if our wealthy classes were educated in matters of taste? If in school they had been

made familiar with classical art, or, indeed, with those styles of art which have been recognized as types of true art? If they had been instructed in regard to the motives which underlie their peculiarities, and the principles which make them beautiful? Could this not be as easily done, and is not a knowledge of the art and culture of the ancient Greeks and Romans as valuable as a knowledge of their wars, their battles, and their leading generals?

The great difficulty which will be experienced in this country, indeed, which has already been realized, in the attempt to establish this new branch of education, is the lack of thoroughly educated teachers and good models. But, let us ever bear in mind that Nature is the great teacher and the source of inspiration for both fine art and industrial art. "Man," says Owen Jones, "appears everywhere impressed with the beauties of Nature which surround him, and seeks to imitate to the extent of his powers the works of the Creator;"* yet the teachings of Nature are not always easy to apprehend, or her laws to understand. But we have our interpreters in the styles of past ages, the works of other countries, and in the leading genius of all times. Let us study them reverently and diligently—not copy them; let us search out the thoughts which have been expressed in all these different art languages and learn thereby how fitly to express our own art thoughts in our own national handiwork.

"The future progress of ornamental art may be best secured by engrafting on the experience of the past the knowledge we may obtain by a return to Nature for fresh inspiration. To attempt to build up theories of art, or to form a style independently of the past, would be an act of supreme folly. It would be at once to reject the accumulated experience of thousands of years. On the contrary, we should regard as our inheritance, all successful labors of the past, not blindly following them, but employing them as guides to find the true path." According to a proverb, "all roads lead to Rome, and whoever is clearly conscious of his aim will reach it sooner or

* *Grammar of Ornament*, p. 13.

later. We can trust the native energy, independence and force of character of the American people to go the right way when once they are intelligently started upon it. The fear is, that they will go slowly and indifferently; that they will waste precious time and fall still farther behind other nations. This danger is more likely from the immense wealth of this country in natural resources which prevents us from realizing the need to develop art resources. While our corn and cotton furnish us with so much wealth, why should we trouble ourselves farther? will, we fear, be a serious question with us. We require the stimulus of some pressing need to urge us to greater and nobler effort in this direction. History shows that great things have been done from the pressure of circumstances, but we are confident the pressure for art education will yet be felt and that our people will rise equal to the occasion.

ART. VI.—1 *The Daily Record of Current Events.* BY THE
PARTISAN PRESS OF THE UNITED STATES. 1877.

2. *Impeachment Trials for Peculation in Office.* 1876.

3. *Reports of Congressional Committees on Election Frauds,
Credit Mobilier, etc.* 1874-5.

4. *Trials of Indicted Officials and Defaulting Government
Clerks.* 1875-6.

"When the wicked beareth rule the people
mourn."—*Hebrew Scriptures.*

"Malè imperando summum imperium amittitur."
—*Syrus.*

"Ily a des méchants qui seraient moins dangereux,
s'ils n'avaient aucune bonté."—*La Rochefoucauld.*

WHEN this article shall have been put in type the contest over the Presidency in the United States will be ended, and Mr. Rutherford B. Hayes inaugurated as Chief Magistrate of the Republic. Such at least is the present tendency of political events.

It is not our purpose in the brief space at our disposal to discuss the legality or the propriety of the means made use of to secure the success of Mr. Hayes, or the defeat of Mr. Tilden; or to examine the personal merits or demerits of either of these very respectable politicians; much less the merits or demerits of either the two great political parties in the United States who are at present struggling with sleepless vigilance for supremacy in the government of the nation and the possession of the national spoils. Our position in politics is at an altitude we hope that removes us from the suspicion of partisan feeling, and enables us to command a wide perspective of the political field and the course and conduct of the political campaign. We rate it chief among our negative virtues to be no politician. But, nevertheless, we

are not altogether blind to the course of political events, or without convictions of a positive character relative to the dangers which beset that course. What we say here and now, therefore, is but a prelude to what we shall attempt to say in a future number of the *Review*.

It is idle to disguise the fact that the political situation in the United States is one of great gravity. It is not because of the success in the government of one party or the defeat of the other; the country is accustomed to events of that kind. Neither is it because a President has been—or will be—"counted in" instead of elected; the country is also used to that. It is rather because the chief object of the contending political parties in the United States, *is the possession of the government and the control of its patronage*. The spoils of office and the greed of place have become paramount to either measures or men. The government has become a political machine to aggrandize political power and pecuniary profit, and is accordingly diverted from its just intent and object—the management and conservation of the temporal interests of the nation.

It is not too much to say that the best informed of both parties in political matters were mutually agreed as to the result of the election twelve hours after the polls had closed on the 7th of November last. There was then no doubt in the minds of any of either party as to the success at the polls of the national Democratic ticket. Twenty-four hours later the best informed *in government counsels*—the political organs of the administration—were confident of the success of the national Republican ticket, and have continued to be so ever since, regardless of the complexion of the election returns or technical defects in the qualification of some of its electors. And it was with good reason. The key State in the arch of the ad-

ministration success was *in the control of administration canvassers and government officials*. As time wore on and returns came in from Southern parishes, those favorable to the administration were joyfully received by it as valid; those unfavorable, as fraudulent, or "bulldozed," and therefore invalid. And to one conversant with the local election laws, which had been ingeniously—perhaps wisely—framed by supporters of the party in power to meet and provide for just such an emergency as had come, it was as clear how the "count" would end as any other inevitable event in nature—as the course of wind and rain, the ebb and flow of the tides, or the procession of the seasons. After months of delay the inevitable is on the eve of consummation; and the Republican organs who knew so well the government policy from the beginning have been proved to be true prophets. The suspicious fact that the politically wise in this juncture were administration organs may be a pure coincidence; but no American politician in possession of his wisdom teeth has sufficient confidence in the political honesty of his political opponents, or is sufficiently ignorant of party engineering—not to say chicanery—to attribute this strange confluence of circumstances to a coincidence—and least of all a democratic politician. Be that as it may, we can but fear that our astute republican brethren have set a precedent of party engineering which their opponents will some day be too likely to follow with all the modern improvements thrown in. That they will then give measure for measure, press down and running over, one can readily believe who is familiar with that party's antecedents.

We attach but little importance to the tricks which parties practice on each other in their strife for success, contemptible as they proverbially are; nor has either party a right to complain of the other in that regard. When men play for stakes

it is expected that they will make the most of their hand; and one would justly be rated weak or imbecile who should voluntarily fail to take advantage of a lead to make a point and win a prize. We repeat, therefore, that it is not so much the method and means by which a political party achieves triumph in the government, as it is the use which it makes of its triumph. No nation has yet seen the day when fraud was not practised in its elections; we fear no nation ever will. The people, however, have a right to expect protection from whichever party gains the ascendancy, whether it be gained by fraud, or force, or otherwise; and to complain and even to rebel when the successful party fails to give them the needed protection. And all history shows that a government which fulfills its function, provides for the social welfare and prosperity of its subjects—the people—is triumphantly supported by them, though the means made use of by it to gain power were so vile as to make the name of man a disgrace to his origin, even though it be so low as Darwin says it is.

Nor does it make much difference what kind of a person wears the crown, or sits in the presidential chair, or which party gains the ascendancy in the government, so that competency is at the helm. Political virtue bears no necessary relation to personal virtue. A good man may be a bad ruler, and a bad man a good ruler; and a party of the lowest respectability may save a country which has been ruined by a party of the highest. These statements may seem paradoxical to many; but their truth is too apparent on the pages of history to make it necessary to cite illustrations. It is true it is more becoming that the central figure in the government should be a person of dignity and self-respect, and of sober, temperate habits; neither smoking nor chewing; given to wine bibbing nor to horse racing; gluttony nor idleness. And if he be familiar

with the science of government it would be no disadvantage to him. But so that he fulfill well his part, or prove no hindrance to others doing it for him, it is practically a matter of little importance whether he have brains or lack brains, or whether he be virtuous or vicious. In one of the most critical periods of the Reformation in England, be it remembered, a boy but a few years old sat on the English throne. And in another period in English history equally critical, not only for the cause of the Reformation, but for the political life of the English nation itself, a woman wore the crown. The people were, nevertheless, preserved and the cause of liberal Christianity maintained. The demagogue in politics, in office or out of it, either overlooks or is ignorant of these things when he tries to persuade the ignorant voter that the fate of the nation hangs on the election of his favorite man to Congress or to the Presidency.

Above and beyond then, the strife of parties and the tricks of demagogues, the political outlook in the United States is by no means encouraging. The experience of ancient Rome is being lived over again. He who holds office is a patrician; he who does not is a plebian. The country is being mobilized into offices and places for political aspirants; and the people are being taxed for their maintenance. Before the war of the Rebellion there were less than thirty thousand office-holders and place-men in the nation. Now there are, it is said, more than a hundred thousand of them; and any man who makes himself more than ordinarily serviceable to the party in power is rewarded with a salaried place, even though a new one has to be created for him. Even so good a man as Mr. Lincoln indulged in this anomaly. It has come to be regarded as a matter of course that a man who has done his party the best service must have the highest place in its gift. Accordingly the

attorney who lately defended the republican cause before the electoral commission, is named by general consent for Secretary of State under the prospective administration. Unless we greatly mistake the man he will decline the proffered reward, and content himself with his present position, which is superior to any within the gift of his party—and vastly more honorable. Moreover, a good lawyer may not unlikely make a poor Secretary of State.

If this vast army of office-holders were needed in the government service to do the legitimate work of the government, there would be no just cause of complaint. But the worst of the matter is that many of the places are mere sinecures with good salaries. Many, too, are mere honoraries, like the custom-house chiefs and principal postmasters, who draw large salaries and leave the actual work of their offices to men with small salaries; while they, themselves, attend to packing caucuses, nominating conventions, and rewarding loyal camp followers with subordinate positions, at the public expense, in place of those who are disaffected or suspected of political heresy. One of the most pitiable political sights we remember to have seen of late was the rush of office-holders, above the rank of a custom-house weigher, many of them self-elected delegates, to the convention which nominated the prospective incumbent of the White House. And a noisier set of hairless bipeds it is impossible to imagine! Each had his specific in the form of a man and a political "plank" to "save the country!" Altogether the spectacle reminded us of the conduct of certain hungry beasts of prey wild with the scent of game. And, indeed, it was game these men sought.

But how strange the spectacle of conventions of office-holders and office-seekers, the one republican, the other democratic, passing resolutions recommending Civil Service Reform!

That of a convention of tailors resolving in favor of *sans-culotism* would be no comparison to it! The reform of the Civil Service, indeed! The cry of Civil Service Reform has been raised so long and so often, by demagogues of both political parties, that the phrase has become a by-word, and the reform itself a synonym for a farce. We very much doubt if a majority of those who are most clamorous in the demand for Civil Service Reform have any just, comprehensive conception of what they mean by the terms, or of the means by which it is to be effected.

In our view, to reform the Civil Service in the United States is to reform American politics. The twain are inseparable. The reform of the Civil Service, means first, filling the offices with competent persons—with men and women qualified by education and training to faithfully perform the official duties required of them.

In the second place, it means separating the offices from the rewards of political service. It is quite obvious that so long as office is a prize to be won by other means than faithful service *in office*, there can be no reform in the Civil Service; the right man can never succeed to the right place, except by a happy coincidence. And it is unreasonable to expect efficiency in the government service on any other system of procedure than that which is followed in the trades and professions, viz.: Apprenticeship. Government servants are made such, not born. If they ever become competent in their positions, *it must be through promotions, not appointments*; in the same way precisely that bank officers are made, or merchants, journalists, lawyers, physicians, generals, and other experts in trade, science and art. An expert in one calling may be a fool in another. A grand speaker is very generally a poor writer. A fine chemist has been known to be a bungling theologian. The success-

ful politician is apt to be a failure in statesmanship; and all know that a noble General has made an ignoble President. The history of the United States is crowded with the record of lives of good men whose reputations have been wrecked, and the men themselves put under a shadow through all eternity because of the disregard of these obvious truths. They were faithful in some things and their political (self-seeking) friends falsely persuaded them that therefor ethey were qualified to do other things. Alas! How many political wrecks there are, at heart good men and true, who have had good reason to wish to be saved from their political friends. Of them it must be written: Damned from undue ambition for office! Would heaven that our rulers might learn wisdom from these things, and at least save their friends if they will not save themselves.

In the third place, Civil Service Reform means putting down the emoluments of the offices so low as to remove them from the category of things to be coveted by the vain and ambitious. It should be born in mind that the laws which govern the performance of official trusts do not differ from, or are no exception to, those that govern the performance of other trusts. In general, the man who barter for a price for service is incapable of rendering a faithful service. His eye is so firmly fixed on the reward that he is necessarily oblivious of the service. The fitness to do begets a love for the thing done; and the love of any work or service, official or otherwise, is the sole inspiration for the highest achievement in such work or service. For this reason we say: Remove the Civil Service of the nation from the temptations of cupidity. Otherwise no radical reform in it can rationally be expected. The place should seek the man, and not man the place; and we repeat, we should rate any man, from a police constable to a chief magistrate,

unfit for a position which was voluntarily sought by him. In general it is the idler and the shirk that seek places of preferment. The life of ease and of easy-gotten gains tempts them to seek posts requiring little exertion and large emoluments. Nothing is more natural than that persons of such characteristics should prove in office to be either knaves or fools.

On the other hand, a man who is competent to fulfill posts of trust and responsibility never wants for them. He finds the world's work so immense and near at hand, that his hands are always full; and he advances by steady process, by toil and sweat, from little things to great achievements. Besides, the most competent workers are willing to work for the least compensation; and it is an interesting fact in the history of the world's industry, that the greatest and most meritorious toilers in art and science, in literature and the productive industries, have always had the least pay. The love of their work and the devotion which such love inspires, mentally unfit them for craftiness in trade, or sharp practice in exchange. And it is so in this country to-day. It is the political drones in possession of sinecures, that draw the largest salaries. The men and women who do the work in the secretariats, custom-houses, post-offices, etc., etc., who live by work rather than wit, are under, rather than overpaid.

In the fourth place, therefore, Civil Service Reform means the rigorous abolition of sinecures. Let every unnecessary office be forever dispensed with, and the drones who fill it turned adrift, or put to hard labor. If it be necessary to reward political camp-followers for doing the dirty political work of the party, let it be by fees and not by a system that perpetrates frauds on the Civil Service and corrupts the industry of the nation.

It will be seen, therefore, that the reform of the Civil Ser-

vice is an undertaking easier conceived and advocated than executed. It is no wonder that the spasmodic attempts to reform it have failed. It is idle to expect the chief-magistrate of the Republic to initiate it, because it is a party that is in power and not a man. Besides, if he were conscientious, it might involve his own abdication in favor of some one better fitted for his position than himself. But no political party is unselfish enough to permit its chief to take such a step. And in respect of a party taking the lead in a reform which would strike off the official heads of its own faithful followers and supporters, the prospect of that is remoter still. To the victors belong the spoils. Men have been known to voluntarily lay down the sceptre and abandon posts they were ill-qualified to fill; but the history of the world affords no example of a *party* pursuing that course. We doubt if it ever will. Party chiefs and party demagogues and politicians may talk reform, may mean reform, nay, may even earnestly and conscientiously desire reform of the Civil Service; but the power they have to contend with is stronger than any of them, and that is exerted in quite an opposite direction. The thirst for power and profit has seized upon the common mind, and like an epidemic, yields not to good intentions of conscientious rulers, or the pious protests and entreaties of political parties. It is like a poison that has infected the blood of the nation. Nothing, we fear, but a fearful eruptive disease, will save it!

The occasion calls for strong men in the public service—philosophers—they “to whom the highest has descended and the lowest has mounted up.” In spite of being the richest country in the world in soil, climate and natural resources, the people are becoming the poorest. New York has more paupers than Paris; Massachusetts than France, in proportion to their populations. The people are out of work and bread, and little

children are dying of want, while the political dead-beats in Congress are wrangling over men for the Presidency, neither of whom has proved himself fit for the position! Business men are anxiously waiting the final settlement of the "grave" question, vainly hoping that it will be followed by the revival of business. But business will not revive upon its settlement. The question of Resumption—the forlorn hope of the nation—will next be in order. When that vexed question is definitively adjusted business will surely revive and prosperity come, say the hoping, trusting people. Perhaps they may, but we feel not so sure of it. It costs too much to run the government, for which labor is sorely taxed; the government has too large an interest debt, which the people have to pay; and there are too many individual capitalists supported by this interest account, and who are, therefore, retired from business and industrial pursuits—being independent of work or business—to permit us to be hopeful of the near political and industrial future of the United States. The reduction of the interest account would somewhat relieve the hard pressed taxpayer, and compel the best blood of the nation to leave brokerage, banking, life insurance and genteel leisure, and to engage in productive industry for support, and thus to give employment to millions who are now vainly begging for bread, or quietly dying of starvation because of being too proud to beg.

But howsoever indispensable these measures may be to relieve the anomalies of the political situation, they are not sufficient for the present occasion. The nation is in most urgent need of political philosophers, otherwise statesmen, in the cabinet and other posts of responsibility, to direct the affairs of state, and see that every man has his meed of opportunity to do a man's part in the body politic. It is vastly more important to civilization in America that the avenues of indus-

try—of work, trade and exchange—be opened to the people, than that a man of any particular color or shade of belief, political or otherwise, be elected to the Presidency. Idleness is the bane of a people; and the triple monstrosity poverty, pauperism and crime is its legitimate offspring. We maintain, therefore, that it is a grave fallacy in a government to pursue the exploded policy *laissez-faire*, and neglect to place competent men in charge of the Ship of State, especially in one of the greatest economic storms the world has seen. Let us hope that the government of the United States will appreciate the emergency of the hour and prove itself equal to the occasion.

NOTICES AND CRITICISMS.

HISTORY.

Norse Mythology. By Prof. R. B. ANDERSON. Crown, 8vo., pp. 478.
Chicago: Messrs. Griggs & Co. 1876.

IN this book Prof. Anderson has placed the English speaking public under great obligations for the creditable manner in which he has presented an interesting subject—that of Northern Mythology. The subject is not new to scholars, of course. Nor is the presentation of it novel. Still, this is the first attempt that has come to our knowledge, to give a coherent, consistent account of the primitive theology of our Icelandic neighbors. We give the volume a hearty welcome.

Prof. Anderson begins his book with a definition of Mythology:

"Mythology," he writes, "is a system of myths, a collection of popular legends, fables, tales or stories, relating to the gods, heroes, demons, or other beings, whose names have been preserved in popular belief. Such tales are not found in the traditions of the ancient Greeks, Hindoos and Egyptians, only, but every nation has its system of mythology; and that of the ancient Norsemen is more simple, earnest, miraculous, stupendous and divine, than any other system of mythology, of which we have record. * *

* * * * When we claim that the Norse mythology is more *divine* than any other system known, we mean by this assertion, that the superior God is mentioned and referred to oftener, and stands out in a bolder relief in the Norseman's heathen belief than in any other."

He tells us how the principal gods of the Norsemen, as in all mythologies, were the forces and elements of Nature personified. Odinis symbolical of the over-arching vault of heaven, his one eye, the sun. Frigg, his wife, is the fruit bearing earth; Balder, his son, represents the summer light; Thor, another son, is the tempestuous storm king. When witnessing the mighty conflicts of the elements, the terrific thunder storm, the black murky clouds shutting out the light of the sun, they said, the god Thor was fighting with giants; riding over the vast expanse of the heavens in his thunder chariot, and launching his huge hammer with frightful force against the rebellious giants. The thunder is his wrath; the gathering of the black clouds, the drawing down of his eyebrows; the rolling of his chariot over the mountain tops, the peal. When he wrathfully blows his red beard, it is the rustling of the storm blasts before the beginning of the thunder.

We say in our prosaic manner, that the seasons revolve in their course,

regularly following one another. The Norseman relates, that the bright god Balder (the summer son) was pierced to the heart with a thorn thrown by Hoder (the dreariness of winter), at the instigation of Loke, (the destroying element in Nature). The hostile powers of Nature they conceived to be Jötuns (giants). They were Frost, Fire, Sea and Tempest. The beneficent powers, such as the sun, the summer-heat, the productive earth, &c., were gods. The universe was divided between the two, each striving for the ascendancy :

"How pleasant were the wild beliefs
That dwelt in legions old,
Alas ! to our posterity
Will no such tales be told.
We know too much ; scroll after scroll
Weighs down our weary shelves,
Our only point of ignorance
Is centred in ourselves."

And again, he writes :

"All the so-called disagreeable features of mythology are nothing but distortions brought out by ill will or by a superficial knowledge of the subject ; and when these distortions are removed, we shall find only those things lovely and of good report. * * * In its original form this mythology was common to all the Teutonic nations, and it spread itself geographically over England, the most of France and Germany, as well as over Denmark, Sweden, Norway and Iceland. But when the Teutonic nations parted, took possession of their respective countries, and began to differ one nation from the other, in language, customs, social and political institutions, and were influenced by the peculiar features of the countries which they respectively inhabited, then the germ of mythology, which each nation brought into its changed condition of life, would also be subject to changes and developments in harmony and keeping with the various conditions of climate, customs and political institutions, and other influences which nourished it ; while the fundamental myths remained common to all the Teutonic nations. * * * It is only in Iceland that anything like a complete record of this ancient Teutonic mythology was put in writing and preserved."

It would rather appear that Professor Anderson had become lost in the Norseman's lore, and buried himself amid the beauties of Icelandic frostery, in the following remarkable eulogy on the Elder Edda :—

"The poems of Elder Edda show us what the myths of Greece would have been without a Homer. They remain huge, wild and fragmentary ; full of strange gaps rent into their very vitals by the strokes of rude centuries ; yet like the ruins of the Coliseum, or of the temple of Paestum, standing aloft amid the daylight of the present time, magnificent testimonials of the stupendous genius of the race which reared them. There is nothing beside the Bible, which sits in a divine tranquility of unapproachable nobility, like a king of kings among all other books, and the poem of Homer

itself, which can be compared in all its elements of greatness with the Edda. There is a loftiness of stature, and a firmness of muscle which the poems of the same race have never reached. The only production that can be compared with the Elder Edda in profoundness of thought is that of Shakespeare, the Hercules Thor of English literature, that heroic mind of divine lineage, which passed through the hell-gate of the Roman school-system unscathed. The obscurity which still hangs over some parts of the Elder Edda, like the dim shadows crouching on the ruins of the Past, is the result of neglect, and will in due time be removed; but amid this stand forth the boldest masses of intellectual masonry. We are astonished at the wisdom which is shaped into maxims, and at the tempestuous strength of passion, to which all modern emotions seem puny and constrained!"

One can scarcely be surprised at the enthusiasm of the author in his high admiration of the Eddas, even if they have only read the Eddas through the means of translators. They are, as he says, "the boldest masses of intellectual masonry." One is struck, however, with the boldness of his assertion, that nothing beside the Bible and the poems of Homer, can be compared in elements of greatness with the Elder Edda. We wish he had given us proof of his statement by citing illustrations. In the absence of it his broad assertion that the only production beside the two books before mentioned, worthy of comparison with the Elder Edda, is that of Shakespeare, will scarcely be admitted by the thinking world. The field of comparison seems too limited when we think of the hymns of the Rig-veda, the sublimity of thought exhibited by Menu in his account of the Creation, the poems of Milton, &c.

Perhaps the lapse of time has cast a glamour over those Icelandic poems, the grandeur of whose conception we admit; but we fear they have overwrought the judgment of Prof. Anderson or he would not venture to compare them with the master conceptions of the Greek and Hebrew poets. It is a pleasant study, surely, to unravel the old myths, reaching into the depths of the minds that produced them. Their religion reveals to us the spirit from which they emanated. Through a nation's mythology we reach the radical of their history; and by understanding the cause we can better judge of the effect. Our author probes deep when he writes: "Their religion is the soul of their history. Their religion tells us what they felt; their feelings produce their thoughts; and their thoughts were the parents of their acts."

Prof. Anderson, in closing presents these questions: "Shall we not have northern art? We have southern art (Hercules and Hebe), we have oriental art (Adam and Eve), and will not some one now complete the trilogy by adding Locke and Sigyn? Ay, let us have another Thorwaldsen, and let him devote himself to *northern art*. Here is a new and untrodden field for the artist. Ye Gothic poets and painters and sculptors! why stand ye here idle?"

This volume of Norse Mythology is an important acquisition to American

literature. Here we have condensed in one volume the knowledge which before we were compelled to seek in many works. It is a book showing learning and research. The volume is handsomely printed in clear, legible type and on good paper, attractively bound in cloth, and richly stamped in black and gold, and altogether does credit to the beautiful art of book-making.

BELLES-LETTRES.

Words; their Uses and Abuses. By WILLIAM MATTHEWS, LL. D. pp. 384.
Chicago: S. C. Greggs & Co. 1877.

IN the volume before us Dr. Matthews has succeeded in presenting a great deal on an interesting subject in an interesting manner. The work, like the subject, has evidently been the growth of years. Indeed, the author distinctly says that it is the outcome of a lecture on Words he wrote and delivered twenty years ago. And "being much interested in the subject he continued from time to time to make notes of his thoughts and readings upon it, till at length the lecture grew into a volume." (Preface). It is in this way that any work worthy of binding and preservation matures. It is only the fungous species in literature, as in vegetation, that is the growth of a night.

So, too, in the collection of materials for his work, the author has drawn freely from all accessible sources. *Non nova, sed novè*, he admits has been his aim; presenting the thoughts of others even more than his own. We like this feature of the volume, since the quotations are mostly from the masters of thought and diction, and include their tersest expressions. He would have given better satisfaction to students and novices in literature, however, had he taken more pains to indicate the authors and books from which citations are drawn.

Unlike what one would suppose from the title, "Words, their Uses and Abuses," the work is a series of discursive essays on words and their changing significance, rather than a treatise on terms, etymology, &c. The course pursued by the author is unlike that of Dean Alford, Mr. Moon, or even of Mr. White. He does not, like the above-mentioned critics, dwell so much on the misuse and abuse of the "Queen's English," as on the derivation and

significance of words and phrases. Nor does he unfortunately confine himself to this useful field of inquiry. It would have been to the advantage of students of literature if he had. Be that as it may, his method is preëminently discursive; dipping into physics here, and philosophy there; discussing abstract science, metaphysical subtleties and ethical problems, all in the same essay. Philosophical gossip is thus mixed up with interesting disquisitions on words all through the book. The dryness of the subject is much relieved in this way it is true; but this advantage, if it be one, is secured at a fearful drain on the absolute value of the work to the student. The author has aimed evidently to make his book popular by this means; and we think he has succeeded in doing so. Many people will find it more satisfactory than the average novel of the period.

But we demur at Dr. Matthews' philosophical views. His disquisition on miracles, for example, is lacking in breadth and comprehensiveness. He speaks of miracles as disturbing or interrupting "the established order of things," "in the same way that the will of man continually breaks in upon the order of nature. There is not a day, an hour, *nor* a minute, in which man, in his contest with the material world, does not divert its course, or give a new direction to its order." (p. 218.) To say nothing about the questionable grammar of this extract, we take exception to this narrow view of nature. The absurdity of the claim that man can disturb, by any act of his, the order of nature, must be seen at once when one reflects that man is himself a part of nature, and that any act he can possibly perform is quite within the "order of nature," and never, by any possibility, outside of it. "That which perceives," very truly says Dr. Thomas Brown, "is a part of nature as truly as the objects of perception which act on it." * The scientific conception of nature comprehends the universe of things, linking matter and force into an indissoluble oneness—Monism. But in respect of miracles our author further observes:

"The miraculous character of an event is not a matter of intuition or observation, but of inference, and cannot be decided by testimony, but only by reasoning from the probabilities of the case. The testimony relates only to the *happening of the event*; the question concerning the *nature* of this event, whether it is or is not, a violation of physical law, can only be determined by the judgment after weighing all the circumstances of the case. No event whatever viewed simply as an event, can be so marvellous that sufficient testimony will not convince us that it has really occurred." (p. 219.) Now the truth is that nothing is gained by referring questions of the miraculous to the judgment and reasoning powers, "the competency of the conclusions," etc., over that of experience and testimony of Mr. Hume, which our author assails. The only test of the miraculous, it seems to us, is in separating an occurrence from its legitimate cause or antecedent. An event supposed to be a miracle, ceases to be such as soon as its legitimate ante-

* *Philosophy of the Human Mind.*

cedent is found. And we have no doubt that the alleged conversion of the water into wine on a certain memorable occasion, or the raising of the dead or the healing of the sick on divers other memorable occasions in the life and career of the divine Jesus, were effected by means quite as legitimate and natural, as that by which water is made from two impalpable gases, or signals transmitted in advance of time, between the two continents. In respect of the occurrence of miraculous events and surprising phenomena, the wise head will reserve his decision upon their *methodus medendi* until their laws and antecedents have been duly investigated. And the "experience" of mankind has proved that mystery is often like a vapor, which is dispelled by advancing light. And if the race can wait long enough we have no doubt that sufficient light will be reflected on the so-called miraculous to make them appear quite consistent with the natural and divine order of all sublunary things.

There are many other points in philosophy touched upon by Dr. Matthews to which we except; but we have space to mention but one more. He rightly accepts Cicero's definition of the word Education, but fails to see its metaphoric character. He thus falls into the error of saying, since to educate the mind is to nourish it—*educat nutrix*—that knowledge is the food of the mind:—"It is food above all things which the growing mind craves; and the mind's food is knowledge. * * * In an ideal system this (discipline, etc.,) and the *nourishing the mind* by [with] *wholesome knowledge* would proceed simultaneously. The school lesson *would feed the mind*, while the thorough, patient and conscientious acquisition of it would *gymnaze* the intellect and strengthen the moral force [faculties]". (pp. 228-9.) The italics are mostly ours.

Now it is a manifest error to suppose that the mind is nourished by means which differ in anywise from those that nourish the body. Speaking literally as we ought to do on all philosophical subjects, brain and mind are one and indivisible, and they cannot be separated except by a mental effort—an abstraction. That which nourishes the one nourishes the other, namely, food—alimentary substances—bread and meat and water;—and believe us, oat-meal and coffee is better mind food than knowledge! The acquisition of knowledge sustains the same relation to the mind that swinging the sledge or the "Indian clubs," does to the body. Both are *wasting processes, actually impairing body and brain instead of nourishing either*. The nourishing processes follow on *during repose* by the absorbents taking up plastic matter from the blood. In strictly scientific terms, therefore, to *gymnaze* the brain and mind is to correlate alimentary matter into brain-substance and ideas; in precisely the same manner that muscular force is correlated from such matter in the brawny arm of the blacksmith, or gymnast. This is the actual truth of the matter; and should our author or reader have any doubt on the subject, let him engage in prolonged and intense thought on an equally prolonged fast; or indulge in hard manual labor with his stomach persistently empty.

Such a test would be more conclusive to the ordinary mind than any metaphysical disquisition on the subject in the English language.

Moreover, in the old metaphysical sense of mind, to which Dr. Matthews seems to adhere, knowledge is not food for the mind—except in respect of *memory*. A very inferior mind may be a storehouse of knowledge. On the other hand, a very superior mind may be deficient in knowledge. Many a modern school boy actually knows more—possesses more knowledge—than did either Plato or Socrates, or both together. But in actual capacity to think and feel, in breadth of conception and power of analysis these men were masters without a superior. Knowledge was certainly not the pabulum that nourished *their* minds.

But these are faults of philosophy, and detract in a minor degree only from the usefulness of Dr. Matthews' really learned and excellent book. The work lacks neither learning nor erudition. It is written, too, in a style simple and clear; the author's views are illustrated by comparisons broad and apposite; and the book itself is printed in the highest style of the typographical art. We notice many defects in proof reading which certainly ought not to exist in the "Seventh Thousand;" and, moreover, some misplaced words and defects of grammar are to be found. A few of these anomalies we have indicated in the foregoing pages.

In concluding our brief notice of this fine book, we cite the following paragraph, simply for the opportunity it gives us of endorsing it:

"It is a mistake to suppose that a language is no more than a mere collection of words. The terms we employ are symbols only, which can never justly express our thought, but shadow forth far more than it is in their power distinctly to impart. Lastly, there are in every language as another has tersely said, a vast number of words, such as *sacrifice, sacrament, mystery, eternity*, which may be explained by the idea, though the idea cannot be discovered by the word, as is the case with whatever belongs to the mystery of the mind. And this of itself is enough to disprove the conclusion which nominalist would draw from the origin of words, and to prove that, whatever the derivation of 'truth,' (may be) its etymology can establish nothing concerning its essence; and that we are still at liberty to regard it as independent, immutable and eternal, having its archetype in the divine Mind." (p. 234.)

Harold. A Drama. By ALFRED TENNYSON. 16mo. pp. 170. Boston. James Osgood & Co. 1877.

The period embraced in this drama is of short duration. It begins just before the death of Edward the Confessor, and ends with that of Harold, the last of the Saxon kings, at the battle of Hastings, Oct. 14, 1066. The first

scene opens in an apartment of the king's palace at London. Several courtiers are gazing with consternation at a comet. Morcar is made to exclaim, showing the superstitious terror that prevailed in the eleventh century at the appearance of an unusual phenomenon in the heavens :

" It glares in heaven, it flares upon the Thames,
The people are as thick as bees below,
They hum like bees—they cannot speak—for awe ;
Look to the skies, then to the river, strick
Their hearts, and hold their babies up to it !
I think that they would Molochize them, too,
To have the heavens clear ! "

Dire forebodings fill their minds lest some great calamity broods over England. While they are watching the comet, Harold appears, and soon after Edward ; Harold is work-wan and flesh-fallen, and the king, speaking gratefully of his twelve years of service, Harold thus petitions :

" And after these twelve years, a boon, my king,
Respite, a holiday ; thyself wast wont
To love the chase ; thy leave to set my feet
On board, and hunt and hawk beyond the sea !

Edward.—What, with this flaming horror over-head !

Harold.—Well, when it passes then ! "

Edward at last yields his consent with great reluctance ; but bids him keep clear of Normandy. Harold embarks for Flanders, but is wrecked on the coast of Ponthiers. He falls into the hands of Grey, Count of Ponthiers, who relinquishes his prisoner to William, Duke of Normandy, on the payment of a large ransom. William takes Harold to Bayeux, and refuses to release him, save on condition that he take an oath to use all his influence in securing to William the crown of England on the death of Edward, who is failing rapidly. His struggle with his conscience in taking an oath, which he has no intention of keeping, is finely depicted. (Act II, scene 2.) If he refuse to take the oath, his young brother Wulfnoth, who was compelled to remain as hostage of his father's good faith at the Court of William, and himself, will be retained as prisoners. His presence is imperative in England ;—Edward is dying ; part of England in revolt ; and intrigues are in progress to separate Edith (the King's ward, and his own betrothed) and himself, and immure her in a convent ; and Aldwyth, the widow of the late king of Wales, plotting with her brothers to become, through the union of herself and Harold, Queen of England. Malet, a Norman noble, but loving England because of his mother's native place, tries to persuade Harold to yield and take the oath, saying :

" Then, for my mother's sake, and England's sake,
That suffers in daily want of thee,
Obey the Count's command, my good friend.

Harold.—How, Malet, if they be not honorable ?

Malet.—Seem to obey them.

Harold.—Better die than lie !

Malet.—Choose, therefore, whether thou wilt have thy conscience,
White as a maiden's hand ; or whether England
Be shatter'd into fragments.

Harold.—News from England ?

Malet.—Morcar and Edwin have stirr'd up the Thanes
Against thy brother Tostig's governance ;
And all the North of Humber is in one storm.

Harold.—I should be there, Malet, I should be there !

Malet.—And Tostig's in his own hall, on suspicion,
Hath massacred the Thane that was his guest,
Gamel, the son of Orme ; and there be more
As villainously slain !

Harold.—My God, I should be there !
I'll hack my way to the sea !

Malet.—Thou canst not, Harold !
Our Duke is all between thee and the sea,
Our Duke is all about thee like a God ;
All passes block'd ! Obey him, speak him fair,
For he is only debonair to those
That follow where he leads ; but stark as death
To those that cross him ! Look, thee, here is Wulfnoth !
I leave thee to talk with him alone,
How wan, poor lad, how sick and sad for home !

Harold.—Poor brother, still a hostage !

Wulfnoth.—Yea, and I
Shall see the dewy kiss of dawn no more.
Make blush the maiden white of our tall cliffs !
Thou canst make yield this iron mooded Duke.
To let me go !

Harold.—Why, brother, so he will,
But on conditions. Canst thou guess at them ?

Wulfnoth.—Draw nearer. I was in the corridor,
I saw him coming with his brother Odo,
The Bayeux bishop, and I hid myself.
And he spoke, and I heard him,
" This Harold is not of royal blood,
Can have no right to the crown," and Odo said :
" Thine is the right, for thine is the might ;" he is here
And yonder is thy keep !

Harold.—No, Wulfnoth ! No !

Wulfnoth.—Yea, but thou must not this way answer him !

Harold.—Is it not better still to speak the truth ?

Wulfnoth.—Not here ! or thou wilt never hence nor I :
For in the racing toward this golden goal
He turns not straight nor left, but tramples flat
Whatever thwarts him. . . .
For my sake, oh ! brother ! oh ! for my sake !

Harold.—Poor Wulfnoth ! do they not entreat thee well ?

Wulfnoth.—I see the blackness of my dungeon loom
Across their lamps of revel, and beyond
The merriest murmurs of their banquet, clank
The shackles that bind me to the wall !

Harold.—Too fearful still !

Wulfnoth.— Oh, no, no—speak him fair !
 Call it to temporize and not to lie ;
Harold, I do not counsel thee to lie.
 The man that has to foil a murderous aim
 May, surely, play with words !
Harold.— Words are the man.
 Not even for thy sake, brother, would I lie !
Wulfnoth.— Then for thine Edith !
Harold.— There thou prickst me deep !
Wulfnoth.— And for our Mother England !
Harold.— Deeper still ! ”

Harold at last consents, and takes the oath ; but when he sets out for home, and not perceiving his brother, he asks William the reason, and receives answer that :

“ Wulfnoth is sick, and cannot follow.
 We have learned to love him, let him a little longer
 Remain as hostage for the loyalty of Goodwin’s house.”

The king on his death-bed names Harold as his successor, and he is crowned. William invades England, conquers it, and Harold is killed. To avert the curse that rested on him if he married Edith, and to please the people, Harold made Aldwyth his Queen. Edith finding his remains on the battle field, becomes crazed, declares herself his wife, falls upon his corpse, and dies.

The author makes some happy thrusts at many realisms applicable even to the present time, such as Stigands remark :

“ For in this windy world of ours,
 What’s up is faith, and what’s down is heresy.”

The dialogues are also interpolated with forcible comparisons, as when describing the fluctuating star in the comet :

“ Like you, there’s a star
 That dances as mad with agony.
 Ay like a spirit in hell, who skips and flies
 To right and left, and cannot escape the flame ; ”

and abound in apt comments. The character of the wily Tostig is well drawn by Leofwin in a few terse sentences :

“ He has as much of cat as tiger in him,
 Our Tostig loves the hand, but not the man.”

And again :

“ Tostig ! sister, galls himself !
 He cannot smell a rose, but pricks his nose
 Against a thorn, and rails against the rose.”

The drama is wanting in strong dramatic power, although there is often richness and felicity of expression in it. It will be widely read and widely praised—of course—if for no other reason, because the poet-laureate wrote

it. Were it published without a name we can imagine it would fall flat on the public taste, and a second edition be long delayed.

Book of Poems. By JOHN W. CHADWICK. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1876.

LYRIC and dramatic poetry is the popular poetry of the present moment, and meditative verse is not clear to the average reader. But here and there a poet arises whose verse is sweet and singing, and sufficiently in sympathy with the common thoughts and feelings of humanity to win recognition. Perhaps the pastorate of a church is a good and wise preparation for the expression of experience in song, at once enlarging the sphere and vision of life, kindling the sympathy and making vivid, ideal dreams of excellence, and thus broadening and intensifying the insight and the personality of the poet's song. As a rule, this peculiar pastoral training expends itself in every day life in ministering to the need of the poor and distressed of the congregation; but if there be mental activity, poetic fancy, and time and strength to spare to work out in verse, the verse will surely be the product of a true, busy, serious life, and possibly please a sincere and thoughtful audience.

"A Book of Poems," by John W. Chadwick, is a book of meditative verse; not restricted to the sights of the inner eye alone, but teeming with the joy and beauty of nature most delicately and felicitously described, and linked with the inner experience of the soul. The first division, "Poems of Nature," are also poems of personal experience. The first four in the book, "My Barnacles," "Whitsuntide," "By the Seashore," and "Nirvana," are types of this division, and sweet, melodious poems, which show keen perception of beauty, an intense love of nature, and a loving consciousness of her mother gifts of refreshment, stimulus and healing for the human spirit. Perhaps, "By the Seashore," is the smoothest verse in the book, and a lovely sea-picture it is.

In the second division, "Poems of Life," the same notes are struck, but an additional note added, which makes the chords richer. The author still feels the beauty and glory of nature; still, he interprets her by his own soul, borrowing the experience of others and wraps it round with his own communings and glorifies it with tender imaginings and loving sympathies. These poems will be appreciated by all those who have loved and suffered, and who has not! The thoughts are those which are familiar to our best moods, but which are often left dumb in the soul. To find them nobly and truly expressed is to obtain a profound joy and relief. The struggle for

expression is often exhausting and baffling, and to read one's own thoughts in the well chosen words of another is a great delight, as one recognizes unexpectedly an old friend, fresh and bright with health, and clad in lovely apparel.

These two divisions surpass the third, in force and variety, as if the fingers of the musician had tried to grasp another note, yet of a larger chord, and had failed to reach it, and thereby blurred the elder notes.

In reading modern religious verse, the thought sometimes arises, that the old power and spirituality of the Catholic hymns, spring out of the seclusion of the monkish life. Isolation from life's affairs and people may serve to concentrate the whole passion of the soul on invisible things. Be that as it may, their hymns as a whole have never been equalled, although many have been written on a greater variety of topics and sentiments.

Perhaps Mr. Chadwick will yet achieve that triumph.

While so much may be said, from a poet's point of view, commendatory of Mr. Chadwick's verses, we cannot but feel that the hour demands a higher consecration on the part of servants and disciples of Christ than indulgence in song and versification. The exercise of a reverent, trusting faith, a hopeful, cheerful disposition, and sweet, tender sentiments, is all very well ; but when nine-tenths of mankind are under the wheel and in want of the necessities of a healthful, rational existence, the occasion calls for strong speech and vigorous action, especially from those who were commanded to visit the sick, feed the hungry and clothe the naked.

In the Levant. By CHARLES DUDLEY WARNER, 12mo. pp. 374. Boston : James R. Osgood & Co. 1877.

We have before us a continuation of the account of Mr. Warner's travels through the East. He carried us in his first volume, *Mummies and Moslems*, over the land of the Pharaohs, along the sacred river, and past the gigantic pyramids, looking, as says Chateaubriand in *Les Martyrs*, "like the mourning portals of Egypt, or rather like some triumphal monument reared to Death to commemorate its victories. Pharaoh is there with all his people, and their sepulchres are around him." We lost our pleasant and instructive companion for a time, however, but he has again taken us up, and we travel with him over the well-trodden highways and bypaths of the Orient. The tediousness of the despicable roads is much relieved by his breezy chats about the peculiar characteristics of the various peoples, scenery, &c. ;

showing his love of nature and the beautiful in his many allusions to mother earth's fairest gifts to man—flowers.

Landing at Joppa, we are led through that ancient city to Jerusalem and its environs; visiting all the principal points of interest, except Bethel, Shechem, Samaria, Nazareth, and the Sea of Galilee; touching upon all the places made sacred to the Christian by their association with the Divine Tragedy, and lingering amid the spots which the heroes and sages of Biblical literature have rendered forever memorable.

Mr. Warner's graphic pen causes a shadowy phantasmagorian vision of the ancient traditions to rise before us from the almost forgotten centuries, and we hold sweet converse in the dim shadows with the ancient master spirits, silent, but not dead :

" And ever something is, or seems,
That touches us with mystic gleams,
Like glimpses of forgotten dreams."

Returning to Joppa, we take the ship for Beyrout, Damascus, Baalbec, Constantinople, and then sail along the Greek coast.

He enlivens the sameness of the way, which so many have explored before him, by his racy and pertinent remarks on the impositions practised by the natives on the credulous and unsophisticated pilgrims; and also by giving us an interesting insight of the manner in which Turkish justice is administered; how the aggressed is punished instead of the aggressor.

The blindfolded figure of justice does not exist as a mere symbol alone under Turkish dominion; her scales perform rather strange freaks sometimes in better regulated countries.

We miss, however, a certain enthusiasm in Mr. Warner's descriptions. His word-pictures are forcible, and correct in every detail; but they lack a certain warmth of color; they fail to enlist the sympathies or to carry our imagination captive to the scenes he depicts; we feel as though we were looking at some grand picture, faithfully delineated, but merely the representation, instead of being brought in contact with the reality itself.

As we finish the last page and close the volume, we seem to catch the faint echo of the retreating centuries, with their philosophers, statesmen, orators, sculptors, and heroes, slumbering in the dim past, and only the memory of their lives left to the following generations. It is thus that time ravages all things:

" Time buries graves. How strange, a buried grave!
Death cannot from more death his own empire save."

The work is printed on inferior paper and cheaply bound, defects unusual in books published by Messrs. Osgood & Co.

Corinne ; A Story of Italy. By M^{me} DE STAËL. Translated by Miss L. E. LONDON. 8vo. pp. 172. Philadelphia : T. B. Peterson & Brothers. 1877.

AMONG the few works of fiction that live and increase the posthumous lustre of the name of their writers stands preëminent this work of M^{me} de Staël. The readers of the *Review* will surely not expect us to set before them the well-known character of *Corinne*. Its pages have already borne testimony to its merit, amply illustrated with copious citations from the original. This edition of the Messrs. Peterson, however, purports to be a new translation, in which many errors and imperfections of the previous translations have been carefully avoided. So far as we can judge without critically examining its pages, we believe its claim to superiority over other translations to be well-founded. The Messrs. Peterson have done a service to English readers of light literature, in placing so good and cheap an edition of a celebrated work before the American public.

Whitefriars ; or the Days and Times of Charles the Second. By the author of
—— &c. Philadelphia : T. B. Peterson & Brothers.

THERE is a class of books and periodicals written in the interest of authors and publishers rather than that of readers. The "Whitefriars" belongs to that category. We do not say that books of this sort are devoid of a certain kind of interest to the reader. They do certainly enchain the attention of a large class of readers, who read to kill time and for amusement, and who, perhaps, would otherwise waste their leisure in worse pursuits than reading fiction with an admixture of historic fact. One cannot, however, but feel some degree of commiseration for the individual who cannot find in real history sufficient to interest him without having it dressed up in a fiction of plots and adventures. It is like administering homœopathic pellets in molasses or apple-sauce. The vehicle is worse tasting than the medicine ; and he who should indulge in such a folly would be put down as ridiculous or weak-minded, or both. It is to be regretted that there are so many people who make so poor a use of their ability to read and write as to write and read books of this kind. We cannot but feel that all concerned—writer, reader and publisher—could make better use of their time, money and talents. While this is an honest sentiment in respect of this book, we rate it the equal in literary merit of Miss Mülbach historical series, if not that of Alexandre Dumas.

SCIENCE.

Archology; or the Science of Government. By S. V. BLAKESLEE. 12mo., pp. 164. New York and San Francisco: A. Roman & Co. 1876.

THIS modest little volume is an attempt, as its name implies, to define the science of government, or to reduce the science of civil control to precise terms and limitations. Notwithstanding the works of Paley, Combe, Spurzheim, Wayland and Dr. McCosh, on moral science we sympathize with the author when he says that, "in the all important science of government, bearing directly upon the welfare of nations, and affecting the interest of every intelligent (or otherwise) being, this failure of a scientific treatment has been most remarkable"—preface.

Archology should be taught in the primary schools and form a part of every child's education; and the little work before us could be used with advantage in such schools as a text book. It is concise, free from redundancies or unnecessary verbiage, nicely printed and substantially bound. One oversight may be noted: We have looked through its pages in vain to find any acknowledgment of the labors of Dr. Spurzheim, or reference to his work on a similar subject—"The Natural Laws of Man."

Silver and Gold, and their Relation to the Problem of Resumption. By S. DANA HORTON. 8vo., pp. 176. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke, Jr. 1877.

THIS book is an examination of the relative merits of the single and double standards of money, and is an able presentation of the superiority of the double standard of silver and gold in a comparative ratio by the simultaneous action of nations, over the single standard of gold, as shown from the commercial and metallurgical points of view. The writer exhibits some acquaintance with the science of political economy, but not enough to prevent the disclosure of some errors. These, however, are not sufficiently important to impair the practical value of his book, which is really an important contribution to the subject, and particularly apropos in the present agitated condition of the legislative and commercial mind. He states (p. 144) what is quite true, that if the nation agree upon a certain legal ratio between gold and silver the market value of the metals as merchandise will consequently conform to the legal value of the metals as money.

There is, perhaps, a lack of perspicuity in parts of the book. For in-

stance: "To-day, in a world encompassed by telegraph-wires, railroads and steamship lines, the solidarity of the money market has not done away with local and international values, the averages of prices, the general value of money follows in every country their own laws." We apprehend that the average reader would have some difficulty in understanding the meaning of this passage. As it appears to us it is not correct, because it is a maxim in political economy that the average of metallic prices throughout the world is controlled by the laws of international trade, and not by the local laws of any country.

The work is cheaply and neatly gotten up and does credit to its publishers. The author exhibits extensive research and intelligent use of the materials at hand. The subject is treated meritoriously and timely; and we hope the volume will be widely read, to the end that proper legislation on the subject may be sustained by an educated public opinion.

Liver Complaint, Dyspepsia and Headache. By M. L. HOLBROOK, M. D.
pp. 141. New York. M. L. Holbrook & Co. 1876.

THIS little volume is full of common-sense suggestions on common-place subjects, intended for the people rather than for the profession. But if we mistake not, the profession generally would be profited by their perusal. The author believes "the time will come when it will be a greater disgrace to have headache, dyspepsia and liver complaint than to violate all the rules of grammar in composition [writing] and speech." It is well to encourage that hope; but the day when such a rational view of health shall come is evidently far away.

The author rates a good diet as the most important auxiliary of health—nay, he rates it higher than that: "Good diet is an essential part of a good education." And we entirely agree with him in that view, and wish our boarding schools, physicians, and mankind generally, could be brought to appreciate its full significance.

Those unfortunate members of the race who are weary of the daily round of dosing and the heavy draft on their time and purses which it imposes, will find in Dr. Holbrook's book many profitable and judicious suggestions; and the rest of the race—the fortunate few—who have no need of dosing or doctors, will find the little book by no means beneath their notice.

The Worship of Bacchus a great Delusion. London: James Clark & Co. 1876.

THIS little *brochure* is devoted to the cause of temperance, and is the most forcible presentation of facts, figures and arguments in support of that cause that we have had the pleasure to meet with. It begins by showing the extravagance of the use of fermented and alcoholic beverages; illustrating the nature and properties of alcohol and beer, and exhibiting the chemical combinations and transformations that take place in their manufacture, with drawings, diagrams, figures, &c., so as to present the subject in its entirety, and fix it indelibly in the mind of the reader.

The author begins the book by quoting the opinions of many eminent physicians of the past, relative to the chemical properties of wine, etc., and among them the terse statement of Abernethy, that "wine is neither food nor drink, but a stimulant." We think he has weakened his book by doing so rather than added any degree of force to it. They are views founded upon an incomplete or imperfect understanding of the constitution of any alimentary substance whatever, and are in nowise necessary to his argument. The more recent developments in chemistry and physiology prove pretty conclusively that alcohol and its allied substances *may* act as an aliment—nay, *is* sometimes an aliment, and as such capable of sustaining and supporting life. We think it would have been wiser for the author to have admitted this truth at once, and then to proceed as he has so ably done, to point out the fearful cost of such food; and not only that, but the extremely rare cases when it is a proper food; those being chiefly certain abnormal conditions of the system to be determined by the physician and by nobody else. Truth gains nothing by being maintained by a lie. Besides, it is not a bantering that needs false props.

We shall be glad to do all we can to give currency to this admirable little volume. Charitably disposed people with means to invest in good works could do a good service to the community by generously distributing it to the multitude of unwise and ignorant people that make use of, and abuse so largely the worship of Bacchus.

THEOLOGY.

The Faith of our Fathers : being a plain Exposition and Vindication of the Church founded by our Lord Jesus Christ. By Rt. Rev. JAMES GIBBON, D. D. *Bishop of Richmond and Administrator Apostolic of North Carolina.* 16mo., pp. 438. Baltimore: John Murphy & Co. 1877.

"THE object of this little volume," says the author in his preface, "is to present, in a plain and practical form, an exposition and a vindication of the principal tenets of the Catholic Church." And whatever differences of opinion may exist relative to the work as a vindication of the Catholic Church, there can be none in respect of the exposition of its tenets; for the reverend bishop has given a very clear, lucid and intelligible *résumé* of Roman Catholic doctrines and belief, symbols, forms of worship, etc., which no one can read without profit to one's self and increased respect for the Church of which it is an exponent.

The book is written apparently more for non-believers and protestants than for Catholics. The latter have less need of it than the former. The author does not exaggerate the moral situation by any means, when he declares, that:

"In a large portion of the press, and in pamphlets, and especially in the pulpit, which should be consecrated to truth and charity, she is the victim of the foulest slanders."

Could the work before us be so widely read as it deserves to be, it could not fail to do away with much prejudice against the Church, and ignorant partisan misrepresentations of its methods and aims. The author addresses his non-believing readers in the introductory chapter to his book, in the following earnest manner:

"I have imbibed her doctrine (the Church) with my mother's milk. I have made her history and theology the study of my life. What motive can I have in misleading you? Not temporal reward, since I seek not your money, but your soul, for which Jesus Christ died. I could not hope for an eternal reward by deceiving you, for I would thereby purchase for myself eternal condemnation by gaining proselytes at the expense of truth."

No one who has engaged in the warfare of opinions and the clash of antagonistic ideas, can be blind to the fact that much of the antagonism between people of different philosophical, political, medical and religious belief, is directly due to mutual misunderstandings, not only of each other's terms, but of each other's aims and purposes. The demagogue in politics and the bigot in science and religion are chiefly concerned in perpetuating these misunderstandings, concealing the fact that the shield has two sides, and fanning thereby the partisan heat into an angry flame. And we are confident that if people of diverse and antagonistic persuasions would charitably, and in a judicious spirit, examine each other's premises, and compare definitions of the terms they employ, much of their differences and

most of their rancorous spirit would thereby be readily composed. The book before us cannot but exert a powerful influence in this direction for good. We bid it God-speed. Its doctrines may be never so fallacious, but they are infinitely preferable to prejudice. The race can survive a fallacy, while it would die of a prejudice.

The American Catholic Quarterly Review. Vol. II., No. 5. January, 1877.

Were we to notice all the *Review* literature that comes to hand during the quarter, we should have no space in our pages for anything else. We must limit ourselves, therefore, to occasional notices of *Reviews*, and even then to those most note-worthy.

The American Catholic Quarterly Review, now in its second year, is one of the ablest *Quarterlies* in the language. This last number of it is exceptionally good and does credit to American scholarship. It is devoted, as its name implies, to the interests of the Roman Catholic Church. The subjects discussed by it are both scholastic and practical; its point of view consistently Roman Catholic and theological throughout.

We do not propose to criticise our able and scholarly contemporary. While we respect it and its cause, our premises are too wide a part for profitable criticism. It seems to us, however, that as professedly Christian in its faith and feeling, it could consistently exercise a broader charity toward a very sincere and honest class of people from whom it differs and whom it persistently calls "Infidel." It is better to use terms in their modern signification;—in their liberalistic signification, if we may be allowed the expression; for words are subject to modification under the law of evolution like everything else. He only is an *infidel* who violates his troth, or is unfaithful to his trusts and convictions. Indeed this was its original meaning. The application of the term to honest folks has been the opprobrium of the Christian brotherhood from time immemorial.

So, likewise, it is an error to stigmatize secular schools as "Godless," which our learned contemporary repeatedly does in its article on "The Liberalistic Views of the Public School Question." Now, while we sympathize with the Roman Catholics in their just cause for complaint in respect of the conduct of the Public Schools, we take great comfort in the belief

that the God of the universe is no respecter of persons, nationalities, or of systems, philosophic or religious. And it is scarcely becoming a few score of individuals, or a few score millions of individuals, to arrogate to themselves an exclusive title to the divine favor. Are we not all—Pagan, Catholic, Jews and Protestants—children of the same Father, and equally objects of His paternal solicitude? It seems to us that our brethren, both Catholic and Protestant, too frequently confound false opinions with evil practices, faith with belief, and theology with religion—things widely different and by no means comparable.

MUSIC.

1. *David Chantant devant Saül.* Solo for Baritone or Bass. With an English version by DR. W. J. WETMORE. Music by L. BORDÈSE.
2. *Lift your Glad Voices in Triumph on High.* Quartet with Soprano, Alto, Tenor and Solo. Easter Hymn. By H. P. DANKS.
3. *Come See the Place Where Jesus Lay.* Solo, Duet and Quartet. Easter Hymn. By H. P. DANKS.
4. *O! Lovely Naples.* (Napoli.) By F. CAMPANA. English version by W. J. WETMORE.
5. *Rose and Tears.* (Rosa e Pianto.) Mezzo Soprano. By LUCIANO ALBITES.
6. *Angel of Midnight.* (Morceau de Salon.) By CHARLES DE FREES.
7. *From the Empire of Music.* (Waltzes.) (Aus dem Reiche der Töne.) By CARL FAUST.
8. *Sweets of Life Polka.* By E. W. LUCHE.
9. *Symphony in C Minor.* Voluntary for the Organ, arranged from Haydn, by JAS. J. FREEMAN. New York: S. T. Gordon & Son.

ALL of these pieces of music are characterized by simplicity, and many of them are as pretty and melodious as they are simple. The Easter hymns by Mr. Danks are of an order superior to that composer's usual productions, and must add considerably to his musical repute.

Mr. Albites' mezzo soprano, *Rose and Tears*, ought to be popular. It is a good song of the Italian style, with a pleasing melody, well-adapted for parlor or concert use. We like, also, Mr. Frees' *Angel of Midnight*. It is a piece of medium grade and well-suited to the range of moderate players. Of the others we cannot say so much, except of the waltzes of Herr Faust, "*Aus dem Reiche der Töne.*" These have certainly a very pretty movement and must win their way to numerous parlors.

APPENDIX.

1. *Record of Life-Insurance Litigations.*
2. *Reports of Receivers of defunct Companies.*
3. *Circulars of Presidents and Puffs of Underwriters, &c.*

THE evil seeds to which we have so often called attention in the management of so many life-insurance companies, are now bearing the fruit which we have so long foreseen. The failure of the Continental and the proceedings against the United States were still occupying the public mind when the catastrophe of the Security came upon us like a thunder-clap—not, however, in a clear sky—and this was followed almost immediately by the collapse of the New Jersey Mutual, which but a short time previously had appeared in the rôle of a re-insurer of some of these defunct companies. Among all these ruins the National Capitol Life raises its unblushing front, in the character of general amalgamationist; professing to hold the assets of the New Jersey Mutual—for whose benefit may well be questioned. And now, finally, we see the North America made the subject of proceedings which may very possibly end in its dissolution; and the Guardian and Universal restrained by injunction from an amalgamation with the last named company, which had practically taken effect more than a year ago. When we inquire the cause of these numerous disasters, we are met with the convenient answer—depreciation of real estate. How much truth there is in this alleged reason becomes manifest when we inspect the returns of these companies and find how very small a proportion of their nominal assets was covered by this item; in some instances the real estate owned by the company consisting solely of the building in which its business was transacted, and the value of that building, as alleged in the report, not unfrequently exceeding its cost price, and in one instance avowedly reached by the device of “capitalizing the rents.” In other words the rents received were in the first instance returned as so much income, and also as capital under the head of “cash in bank:” the “rents due and accrued” were returned as a separate asset; and in addition the gross value of the rents was estimated as a definite sum and added to the cost value of the building and utilized to increase the real estate returned. Thus we find one single item, and that not the most important, doing not only double but triple work in the estimation of the assets.

The real trouble with all these defunct companies has been owing to

three causes which we have already been at some pains to point out, to wit: *firstly*, the manipulation of the assets of the companies so as to present practically untrue returns; *secondly*, the character of the assets in which the funds of these companies were invested; and *thirdly*, the practice of amalgamation which has become so common as to call for especial notice. Of the first of these causes it is unnecessary to speak at present. It is enough that the officials of some of the defunct companies are now under indictment for perjury on account of these very returns; that in the case of others, proceedings have been instituted to recover securities claimed to be the assets of the companies which have been improperly diverted and placed in the name of individual officers, and that the presidents of two companies and the actuary of a third are said to have departed for parts unknown. Of the second we have also spoken sufficiently at large. At present it is sufficient commentary on our former remarks that in the case of one, at least, of the defunct companies, the mass of the assets were in the shape of "premium notes and loans on policies in force." On examining the returns of these companies made a year ago, it will be seen that of the gross assets of the Continental 31.1 per cent. consisted of this dangerous item, for we will not call it investment; of the Security 44.6 per cent., and of the New Jersey Mutual 24.4 per cent. It is true that a recent decision has established the law to be that in *mutual* insurance companies the parties signing the premium notes are liable for the full amount without deduction or offset for their policies; but this was evidently not the intention of the companies in the first instance, and does not render the investment any safer as regards the non-mutual companies, nor, indeed, is it a much greater security in the mutual, when we consider that these notes are at the very best a mere personal security entirely contingent on the pecuniary responsibility of the signer; when we look at these figures and consider the present status of the companies, what are we to think of the fact that in the Continental of Hartford the proportion of these assets at the same period was 34.4; in the Knickerbocker, 39.5 and in the Universal, 23.3?

The real value of various other classes of assets, as compared with the figures which they present on the Company's returns, will appear from the report of the receiver of the Continental. There appear to have been \$77,968.90 in various banks which have failed and are worthless. These deposits were secured by collaterals of the nominal value of \$201,600.00, but of which the receiver states that he doubts whether altogether are worth \$25,000.00. There are \$40,825.01 in "bills receivable" which the receiver

pronounces *doubtful*; and as much as \$1,000,940.15 in "agents' open accounts," of which the receiver states:

"I have failed to discover any satisfactory explanation of these accounts. They consist of claims against a large number of persons who have from time to time been employed as agents of the Company, some of whom were agents when I was appointed. Whether the parties really owe the company the amount charged against them or not, I am unable to ascertain. I fear the item will on further investigation turn out to be nearly worthless."

Among the returned assets is a claim of \$250,000.00 against the Empire Mutual Life which was some years after re-insured in the Continental. The Empire has retired from business and has no assets to meet this claim.

This is the real condition according to the report of a Receiver of its own selection, of a company which, a year ago, returned an annual statement showing an apparent surplus of \$650,000.00!

But the main feature to which at present we wish to call our reader's attention is the practice of amalgamation, which has been carried to such lengths as to become a more powerful engine for fraud than any which we have hitherto mentioned. When the Continental began by re-insuring the Empire Mutual it acquired claims against that company amounting to \$250,000.00 which there are to-day no assets to represent. When the Continental was threatened with dissolution it re-insured in the New Jersey Mutual and transferred to that Company \$314,900.00 of its securities. This last Company, through its president, was at that time publicly boasting of its excellent pecuniary condition; but little more than a month has passed ere we find the New Jersey itself passing into the hands of a receiver; and we then learn that of the policies of this Company a portion are to be carried into the United States Life, of whose troubles we had occasion to speak in our last number; but the bulk both of the policies and the assets have passed into the maw of the insatiable National Capitol Life, of Washington, whose president is said to have made the defiant remark, "I have the assets and no one can touch them."

If we can believe the allegations made in some of the suits brought against these various companies there was no little fraud connected with a number of these transfers. It is alleged that \$315,000.00 in securities had been transferred by the Continental to the New Jersey in consideration of the re-insurance of certain policies. We have at present before us a circular issued by the president of the New Jersey Mutual, dated December 6, 1876, in which he announces that:

"Any statement that this company is interested in any manner in the

Continental Life, or in the stock of the Continental Life, or is endeavoring to save anything for the stockholders of that company, is false."

And yet of this \$315,000.00 in securities only about \$102,000.00 appear to have been recovered back by the Receiver of the Continental.

It is refreshing to inspect, in the light of the present condition of the New Jersey Mutual, some of the other statements of this precious circular issued little more than a month before its failure. For instance:

"The pecuniary condition of this company is excellent, its assets first class, and its surplus large. The company is rapidly increasing its business in a legitimate way, issuing over five thousand new policies annually.

"We expect to increase our business, to increase our assets, to increase our income, to increase our surplus, and in doing this, to protect many *unfortunate policy-holders*."

It will be difficult to believe that Mr. Stedwell was not well aware of the condition of the company at the time he issued this circular. If he were not, his ignorance on such a subject would be hardly less culpable than deliberate falsification. But notwithstanding this defiant circular, the opening of the present year saw the New Jersey Mutual in the hands of a receiver, and a deficiency in its assets of \$421,500.00, and the bulk of its securities in the hands of the National Capitol Life. It is alleged in one of the actions brought by policy-holders in the New Jersey Mutual, that its ex-president is now a fugitive from justice; that the National Capitol's assets, to which the bulk of the New Jersey Mutual's assets are alleged to have been transferred, if it be charged with all outstanding risks, are not sufficient to pay its liabilities, and that it has no adequate responsibility to re-insure the New Jersey Mutual, and that the transfer was made in order to defeat legal proceedings against that company.

These facts, if established, are enough to show the workings of the practice of amalgamation, which, from the facts elicited from these proceedings, appear to imply merely that one company, when it gets into difficulties, insures its policy-holders in another, perhaps equally unreliable, as an excuse for transferring its securities to that company and placing them beyond the reach of the injured policy-holders. We are induced to dwell particularly on this pernicious practice from an article, which we have seen in the *Baltimore Underwriter*, (by whom written, we can only conjecture,) which, after dwelling on the recent disclosures in the matters of the Continental, the Security and the New Jersey Mutual, proceeds to advise the re-insurance *en bloc* of all the policies in each of the defaulting companies, in some life company, with the right of the policy-holder to continue his

insurance by paying the premium at his present age, (which, of course, means an *increased* premium) upon his *reduced* policy. The company recommended by this *disinterested* (?) article is the Universal Life ! The peculiar merits of the Universal Life appear from this article to be embodied in the allegations that by its means the moribund Guardian Mutual and the Widows and Orphans were rescued from impending bankruptcy, the North America had vitality injected into it, and energy and safety were imparted to the Charter Oak. A more fitting commentary on all these allegations could nowhere be found than in the proceedings recently commenced in the Supreme Court for the appointment of a receiver for the North America, and to set aside the amalgamation of the Guardian Mutual with the Universal, and for an injunction restraining the last named two companies from amalgamating with the former. The history of these companies is sufficiently complicated. Two of them are doing business at the same place ; the North America under the presidency of Mr. Furber, who is also connected with the Charter Oak, and is vice-president of the Universal. Prior to the fall of 1874, when Mr. Furber took charge of the North America, that company had re-insured the Government Security and the Standard Life, while the Guardian Mutual had re-insured the Widows and Orphans, the Reserve Mutual and the New York State Life. Both the North America and the Guardian Mutual are at present practically absorbed into the Universal. According to the allegations of the complaint in this action, the business of the North America was prosperous until the Universal undertook to control its affairs, induce its policy-holders to surrender their policies and take new policies in the Universal, and generally to absorb the business, profits and advantages of the North America. The Universal accordingly, it is alleged, by various influences procured the resignation of many of the officers of the North America, so as to make room for the election of persons who were connected with or in the interests of the Universal, so that a number of the directors of the Universal became directors of the North America and constituted a majority of that Board so as to control its action in the interests of the Universal. It is then stated (for it must be remembered that we have as yet only one side of the story) that agents were sent out to depreciate the credit of the North America, to represent it to its policy-holders as unsafe and insolvent, thus creating a panic among them and causing them to allow their policies to lapse, to be surrendered, or sold to the Universal or to persons acting in its behalf ; it being arranged that the reserve on such policies should not be liberated to the use of the North America, but turned over. By these representations,

and by offering small sums for policies for the purpose of substituting the Universal's policies in their place, a panic was created and thousands of policy-holders induced to cease paying premiums, when the policies and the reserve thereunder would be declared forfeited, and the reserve only restored when the policy was re-insured in the Universal. Other policies were surrendered by the policy-holders or sold at about thirty per cent. of the reserve thereon. These policies were kept alive until they were re-insured in the Universal, or until the whole of the reserve upon them was withdrawn or appropriated by the North America in the purchase and cancellation thereof. By these means over two millions of dollars were withdrawn from the North America during the year 1875, and its income so reduced as in two successive years to fall far short of its expenditures.

The complaint in this action (the action of Belknap against the North America Life and others) proceeds to state that the business of the North America is being rapidly wrecked; that the Universal has received and is enjoying the benefit of the greater part of its funds; has absorbed and misappropriated nearly the whole of its business and good-will, and is really conducting what business it has left; receiving and paying out all its income, and keeping up at its expense a grossly extravagant corps of officers whose services are really rendered almost wholly for the Universal. It also alleges that the Universal, by re-insurance or other contract with the Guardian Mutual, has obtained large sums of money or property, and has so mingled the money of the Guardian with that of the North America and its own that it will be impossible to trace it without an accounting among each of the three companies. These are not the worst accusations brought against the joint management of these companies. It is charged that the North America has loaned its money on illegal investments, and bought real estate which it had no right to do; that its officers have extorted from borrowers of money commissions on unjust and usurious terms; that it has permitted its officers to be interested in the purchase and disposition of its policies, and that a conspiracy is on foot among the companies to place the North America in the hands of a receiver of their own selection, and to withdraw nearly half a million of its reserve.

Justice requires us to state that the president of the North America, who is also the vice-president of the Universal, positively denies the truth of all these allegations and declares that the North America is perfectly solvent, if a fair valuation of its real estate was made. It may be so, although in the sworn statement of the company made a year ago, the surplus was returned at \$103,193.18; while of its assets, \$6,066.23 was a loan on collateral

only claimed to be of the exact value of the loan ; \$46,601.90 " cash in office of company and in bank ;" \$550,284.19 " premium notes and loans ;" \$54,721.14 " interest accrued," and \$92,634.87 " unpaid premiums." These unsubstantial items, it will be found on computation, amount to *seven* times the surplus returned ! The remainder of the assets consists chiefly of real estate and loans on real estate. It is alleged that a great portion of this wore originally the shape of a building loan on property much of which remained in an unfinished condition, and became eventually a new burden on the company. Its expenditures during the year preceding had, as we have already stated, exceeded its income by nearly two millions of dollars. Of the Universal we may add that while its surplus in that year was returned at \$569,789.36, its " premium notes and loans " amounted to \$1,269,503.84, or more than twice the amount.

Of course, in the present position of affairs and with the information now before us, we can say nothing more than that the Universal stands charged with one of the most enormous wrecking schemes that have ever disgraced a business community. Of the justice of the charges we can as yet of course express no opinion ; but we may say that the facts charged against the Universal, and the facts actually known of the National Capitol, the New Jersey and the Continental, are sufficient to impress upon all, the peculiar dangers of this system of amalgamation, which, as frequently practised, is nothing more than an engine for placing beyond the reach of the injured policy-holders the reserve fund and assets on which they depend for protection.

In the light of recent events we may well look with alarm on a bill which has lately been introduced the Senate of the State of New York, providing in effect that no suits against life-insurance companies by stockholders or policy-holders shall be instituted except through the Attorney General of the State, and directing that all such actions now pending shall be changed to the control of the Attorney General, and that *all such actions, moreover, shall be under his exclusive control.* We can regard this only as a deliberate attempt to take from stockholders and policy-holders the means of obtaining justice by their own exertions, and to place the whole power of representing their interests in the hands of one man, thus subjecting the whole interests of thousands of policy-holders to the chances of one man's integrity and competency. Should the Attorney General happen at any time to be a corrupt man—and it is frightful to think of the temptations to corruption to which he would be exposed from companies controlling millions and ready to spend any amount for their protection—the thousands of widows

and orphans whom these policies represent would be absolutely without resource. But even if the Attorney General were a man of judgment and integrity—who shall compute the delays which would become inevitable in the prosecution of each suit, when all had to be under the conduct of a single individual? The delays of the old Court of Chancery would be surpassed—insurance suits would descend from generation to generation, unless indeed the money involved were previously exhausted in litigation—and an action against an insurance company would become as proverbial for the waste of time and money as was the suit of Jarndyce and Jarndyce. We call upon all persons interested in the principles of life insurance to oppose the passage of this iniquitous bill. What insurance companies have been instrumental in its preparation and presentation, and what influences they may bring to bear upon its passage, we will not pretend to say. We doubt not that they will leave no stone unturned to insure its success; but there is one warning which they will do well to take to heart: The ultimate sufferers by the passage of such a bill will be the insurance companies themselves; for its existence will suffice to deter all persons from insuring their lives. Already sufficiently alarmed by the repeated failures, the fraudulent transfers, vexatious litigations and disheartening revelations, which have succeeded one another like the strokes of a mill-wheel, they will require but this last step to render their distrust of insurance companies complete. Existing policies will be allowed to lapse, and new ones will cease to be taken; and the practice of life-insurance will become, so far at least as the State of New York is concerned, a thing of the remote past. It is needless to say that the *National Quarterly Review* would do all in its power to hasten that result. For the present we must content ourselves with keeping a sharp look-out for all those disreputable proceedings, collate facts and figures, and prepare for such an exposé of insurance quackery as shall make the guilty companies tremble and the honest companies to stand the better before an enlightened public.

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BRISTOW, Dr. HENRY G., St. Louis, Mo.,	Yellow Fever, etc.
CHEEVER, HENRY R., Boston, Mass.,	Modern Italian Literature.
DANA, ALEX. H., New York,	Philosophy of Population: Popular Illusions.
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GAILBRAITH, REV. H. LE PCER, Dublin, Ireland,	Mexican Antiquities.
GILES, HENRY, Boston, Mass.,	Ancient and Modern Belief in a Future State.
GORTON, D. A., M. D.	Responsibility of Government for Public Health; Infidel Aspects of Modern Science; The Ætiology of the Atmosphere; Domestic Hygiene; The Decline and Rise of Civil Marriage; The Ethics of Labor; The Ethics of Trade, etc.
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LIEBER, PROF. JAMES T., Louisville, Ky.,	New Theories, etc., in Natural History.
LLOYD, PROF. MAX. G., Boston,	The Poems of Elizabeth Barrett Browning.
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MORSE, JOHN T., Jr., Boston,	The Conspiracy of Cataline; Graham of Claverhouse and the Covenanters; Wallenstein.
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NILAN, REV. DR., Port Jervis, N.Y.,	Present Aspect of Christianity.

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- PRENDERGAST, THOMAS, D. LL.D., London, England, Italy, Past and Present.
- PHELPS, ALMIRA LINCOLN, Baltimore, Md., England under the Stuarts;
Popular Botany.
- PYNE, JOHN, A. M. The Architecture of Great Cities; Confucius and his
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- SPRAGUE, A. P., Troy, N. Y., The Decline of Poetry.
- STUART, PROF. J. C., Aberdeen, Scotland, The Sciences among Ancients and
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- WOODRUFF, PROF. J. B., Nashville, Tenn., The Civilizing Forces.
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VII. Domestic Hygiene.
VIII. Our Educators: A Model Head-Master.
IX. Notices and Criticisms. |
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No. LIX.—December, 1874.

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III. Etiology of the Atmosphere.
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VIII. The Æsthetics of Home.
IX. Notices and Criticisms. |
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No. LX.—March, 1875.

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| I. The Scholastic System of Philosophy.
II. The Cossacks.
III. Our New York Scientists, and their Remarkable Discoveries.
IV. Thomas Jefferson. | V. The Cell-Theory and some of its Relations.
VI. Confucius and his Influence.
VII. Notes Critical and Geographical on Education.
VIII. Notices and Criticisms. |
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No. LXI.—September, 1875.

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| I. The Decline and Rise of Civil Marriage.
II. Lessons of a Hundred Years.
III. Vivisection: or Cruelty as an Exact Science.
IV. The Puffing Element in our Higher Education. | V. Pre-historic Greece.
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VII. Charles O'Connor and the Court of Appeals.
VIII. Minor Notes and Comparisons.
IX. Reviews and Criticisms. |
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No. LXII.—June, 1875.

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| I. Buddhism: Its Past, Present and Future.
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III. The Various False Messiahs of the Jews.
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| I. Zoroaster as a Legislator and Philosopher.
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III. Alexandria and its Libraries.
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| I. Pre-Columbian Discoveries of America.
II. The Ethics of Labor.
III. The Conflict of Science and Religion.
IV. Critics <i>versus</i> Puffers.
V. The Gaels, Celts and Kymri. | VI. What Authors have been Persecuted, what Pampered.
VII. Madame de Staël.
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IX. Notices and Criticisms. |
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| I. Mohammed and his Institutions.
II. Chief Justice Marshall.
III. The Ethics of Trade.
IV. Madame de Genlis.
V. Dropsy at Columbia College. | VI. Beaumont and Fletcher.
VII. Our Representative Schools and Colleges.
VIII. Presidential Elections.
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CITY OF MONTREAL,	Saturday, June 16, 9 A. M.
CITY OF RICHMOND,	Saturday, June 23, 2 P. M.
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